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## **China Report**

**RED FLAG**

**No. 1, 1 January 1981**

**FBIS**

**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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On behalf of all of us in FBIS I wish to express appreciation to our readers who have guided our efforts throughout the years.

13 March 1981

## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 1, 1 January 1981

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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## STRIVE TO ACCOMPLISH THE TASK OF READJUSTING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 2-5

[Editorial]

[Text] Full of confidence, the people of the whole country have ushered in the year 1981.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have been making progress in the course of bringing order out of chaos, overcoming difficulties and rectifying mistakes and have step by step created a fine political and economic situation rarely seen in the history of the People's Republic. As a result of the implementation of various policies in the countryside and the increase in procurement prices for farm and subsidiary products, the peasants are now earning more. They also display much greater enthusiasm in production. The vast countryside is becoming more and more prosperous each day. Since the wages for three-quarters of the total number of staff and workers have been increased and since the practice of giving rewards for labor performed above quota has enabled the staff and workers to earn more, the livelihood of the overwhelming majority of the people has improved. Due to the substantial increase in light industrial production, plus the steady increase in the supply of farm and subsidiary products, business in the urban and rural markets is brisk and the condition of commodity supply is quite good. Despite the energy shortage we are still able to maintain a not too low growth rate in industrial production as a whole. The reform of the economic management structure which has just been revealed on a national scale has won initial success and a gratifying scene of conducting economic activities in a lively way has emerged. New headway has also been made in the fields of science and technology, culture and education and public health. These are things we can all see and feel.

However, our country still has its difficulties, notably the serious disproportion between various economic sectors, which find concentrated expression in the excessively high rate of accumulation. The outlays arranged by the state for capital construction and various items of consumption far exceed state revenue. As a result of the disproportion between revenue and expenditure, deficits appeared every year. In order to eliminate deficits, it is necessary to lower the rate of accumulation. To do this, we must make up our mind to cut capital investment and economize on various items of expenditure, particularly administrative expenses. At the same time, we must work hard to increase the production of goods needed by society and which we are in a position to develop, strive for

better economic results and do all we can to achieve a higher national income by spending less.

Thus, we must continue to make economic readjustment this year. This is a major policy decision of strategic significance for insuring the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

Our present readjustment is a healthy and conscious one. To begin with, it is our guiding ideology in further implementing the line, principles and policies laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, overcoming the influence of "left" deviationist ideas about economic work and correcting the orientation of economic work. A major expression of "left" deviationist ideas in economic work is to be impatient for success and unrealistically go after high speed without considering our country's conditions. In the 2 years following the downfall of the "gang of four," we continued to let ourselves be guided by "left" deviationist ideas. Influenced by these ideas, we underestimated the seriousness of the situation of our national economy, which was pushed to the brink of collapse by the "gang of four." We set a series of high targets for ourselves, blindly imported technology and equipment and continued to extend the already over-extended capital construction front. It was also due to the influence of these ideas that we were unable to efficiently carry out the work of economic readjustment in the past 2 years and make due progress. Ours is a country with a population of nearly 1 billion, 800 million of whom are peasants. We have a poor foundation to start with, our economic development is uneven and the level of our labor productivity and per capita national income is very low. After insuring the livelihood needs of the nearly 1 billion people, few financial and material resources are left for accumulation. If we divorce ourselves from this basic fact and arbitrarily try to increase accumulation and go after an excessively high speed, we are bound to lower existing consumption standards and thus aggravate the economic imbalances left by history. Haste makes waste. This has been repeatedly proved by long years of practice. We must conscientiously sum up historical experiences, adopt a realistic attitude, effectively reduce accumulation, curtail capital construction and readjust the speed of development in line with the proper ration between various economic sectors. Although we may not be able to achieve quite so high a speed for the time being, in the long-term point of view, our overall pace of advance will not be slow and may even be faster than our present rate because we will have a solid foundation and will be able to avoid duplication and waste.

As far as its content is concerned, the proportionate relationship between various economic sectors means the proportionate relationship formed in the process of reproduction in society. The process of reproduction in society is a continuous one, and simple reproduction is the starting point and basis of expanded reproduction. Therefore, we must first of all insure the funds and materials necessary for simple reproduction and give full rein to our existing production capability. When simple reproduction is maintained, we can expand our production capability and carry out expanded reproduction with whatever amount of accumulated funds we can spare from the national income. Only in this way can we achieve good economic results in production in the whole society and increase our national income at a faster rate. We must conscientiously act according to the objective law of reproduction in society, correctly readjust the relationship

between simple and expanded reproduction and between the existing level of production and capital construction, and resolve to sufficiently retrench the over-extended capital construction front in order to balance revenue, credits and material supplies. Only in this way can we stabilize and gain control of the world situation and insure the sound development of the whole economy. We achieved quick results in our 1962 readjustment because we were firm in our determination to sufficiently reduce the capital construction front and adopted effective measures.

Readjustment should not be simplistically interpreted as a step backward. On the whole, the purpose of current economic readjustment is to get a firm foothold in order to advance steadily and achieve the four modernizations. In this sense, our readjustment is a step forward rather than a step back. Even now, we are taking some steps backward as well as some steps forward. We still have to do what we can to further develop agriculture, light industry and the production of other articles for daily use. We must also further develop energy resources, communications facilities as well as scientific, educational, cultural and public health undertakings. The existing enterprises are the foundation of our modernization drive. We must try in every possible way to increase production and strictly practice economy in these enterprises. This is our main strategy for resolving the longstanding imbalance between revenue and expenditure and for regaining the initiative in economic affairs. Leading organs and enterprises at all levels must concentrate the main part of their energy on doing a good job of production, increasing production and practicing economy, straightening out management and administration, strengthening economic accounting, improving economic returns and reducing loss. There are great potentials, prospects and hopes for greatly boosting the economic returns by consolidating the existing enterprises and improving their management and administration.

Our determination to carry out readjustment will also help us uphold the policy of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts and build our modernization on a firm and reliable basis. At the same time, we can make use of this opportunity to conduct regular education in a planned way among the vast numbers of cadres, staff and workers and raise their cultural, technical and managerial levels.

Readjustment will continue to be the central task of our economic work for some time to come. At present, we have achieved satisfactory results in the reform of our economic management system. We must continue to persistently carry out reform in all fields, such as introducing various responsibility systems in agricultural production and enlarging the decisionmaking power of enterprises. However, we must pay particular attention to grasping readjustment. All our reforms must be conducive to and serve readjustment. In the course of readjustment, we must consolidate the fruits of reform, sum up experiences and analyze and solve new problems we will come across in our reform. While strengthening planned macroeconomic guidance and administrative intervention, we must continue to make use of economic means and the market mechanism, bring into play the enthusiasm and initiative of enterprises and grassroots units and work with flexibility when necessary.



Since the readjustment of the national economy concerns the overall situation of stabilizing the economy and providing a secure life for the people, it is necessary to strengthen the centralized and unified leadership of the party and the state. To find a way out of difficulties, it is always necessary to have centralization, particularly centralization and unification under the central authorities. Socialist economy is a planned economy. It is a unified and organic entity. The proportions between various economic sectors are mainly regulated by planning. In order to readjust the serious disproportions, it is necessary to take the overall situation into account and give centralized and unified guidance. If all localities and units only have partial and local interests in mind and do not act in concert, it will be very difficult to smoothly carry out readjustment. In order to achieve centralization and unification, we must earnestly and consciously implement the principles, policies and major measures of readjustment laid down by the Central Committee and must not work halfheartedly, feign compliance or refuse to act. We must strengthen unified management over funds for capital construction from various channels, strictly abide by and conscientiously implement the revenue and taxation systems, major fiscal measures and credit and cash management systems, resolutely fulfill the state plans concerning the allocation of important materials, and resolutely carry out the regulations on strictly controlling prices, prohibiting the reckless issuing of bonuses, strengthening foreign trade and foreign exchange control and so on. Strengthening centralization and unification does not mean sacrificing the interests of various localities, departments and enterprises; it means taking everything into account. Emphasizing centralization and unification also does not mean that everything must be centralized and placed under rigid control, or take the beaten track; it means that the part must be subordinated to the whole and the interests of various localities, departments and enterprises must be subordinated to the overall interests. We must better integrate the interests of the state, the enterprises and the individual workers under the planned guidance, overall consideration, coordination and supervision of the state in order to bring into play the enthusiasm of all quarters.

In order to achieve centralization and unification, it is necessary to enhance the sense of proletarian discipline and strengthen education on discipline and the legal system. All phenomena of indiscipline, anarchy and violation of the legal system must be resolutely opposed and rectified. Otherwise, we will not be able to build socialism and achieve modernization.

In order to do a good job of economic readjustment, we must maintain a political situation of stability and unity. This determines the success or failure of our readjustment. In order to achieve stability and unity, we must eliminate all factors unfavorable to stability and unity. At present, class struggle still exists although it has ceased to be the principal contradiction in our society. We must be on guard against the handful of people with ulterior motives who would take the opportunity afforded by the current readjustment to make trouble. As for those counterrevolutionaries, followers of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," remnant elements of the exploiting classes who have slipped back to their old ways, hostile forces that carried out antiparty and antisocialist activities under all sorts of signboards, as well as criminal offenders who engaged in graft and embezzlement, speculation and profiteering, smuggling and evasion of taxes and committed physical assault and murder, we must deal with them resolutely and make

sure that they do not go unpunished after violating the legal codes. To contradictions among the people, we must apply the formula of unity-criticism-unity and work out appropriate solutions. Regarding problems that cannot be solved for the time being, we must do a good job of mediation and guidance and make sure that the contradictions among the people will not sharpen because of our mishandling.

In order to continue to carry forward socialist democracy, we must strengthen the socialist legal system. Without the socialist legal system, socialist democracy is out of the question. The people's legal system is the tool for maintaining revolutionary order, protecting the people's interests, dealing blows to the enemy and protecting the socialist modernization. We must keep abreast of the new situation and perfect our legal system. Administrative and legal departments at all levels must correctly distinguish and handle the two different types of contradictions and effectively apply the socialist legal system to maintain a political situation of stability and unity and insure the smooth progress of economic readjustment.

Under the present conditions, we must strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship in our country. The people's democratic dictatorship means the dictatorship of the proletariat--a political system combining democracy for the people and dictatorship toward the hostile forces. Only when the overwhelming majority of the people enjoy a high degree of democracy can we exercise effective dictatorship over the handful of hostile forces. Putting it another way, only by exercising dictatorship over the handful of hostile forces can we effectively protect all democratic rights of the masses, including their right to survive.

In order to do a good job of readjustment, it is imperative to strengthen and improve the party's ideological and political work. This is an exceedingly important task for insuring the fulfillment of the current readjustment and consolidating the political situation of stability and unity. Comrades of the whole party must be taught to carry forward the spirit of selflessness, of subordinating to the overall situation, of plain living and hard work and of honesty in performing one's official duties, maintain close ties with the masses, share weal and woe with them and oppose the bureaucratic work style of estranging oneself from the masses, treating the masses with indifference and seeking special privileges. We must promote the practice of viewing the situation as a whole and the spirit of collectivism and oppose departmental selfishness as demonstrated by people who do not have the cardinal principles in mind and do not take the overall situation into account. The question of party style concerns the survival of the ruling party. Leading cadres at all levels, in particular, must earnestly practice what they preach and set examples in combating all unhealthy practices. Comrades of the whole party, particularly the leading cadres, must carry forward the party's glorious traditions, work with one heart and one mind, willingly bear the burden of office and help the state and the people overcome the present difficulties. They must not slacken a bit. Only in this way will the masses have faith in and support the party, and only then will the party organizations at all levels be able to lead the masses in overcoming the present difficulties and forging ahead courageously along the road of the four modernizations.

At present, in conducting ideological and political work, our party should pay particular attention to educating the people to uphold the four basic principles--the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and party leadership. This is the fundamental issue concerning the future and destiny of our country. The tendencies to doubt, jeopardize, weaken and even oppose these four basic principles are wrong and will not be tolerated. We must continue to eliminate the remaining influence of feudalism. At the same time, we must also unfurl a radiant banner and resist and oppose the bourgeois trend toward liberalization as demonstrated by the worship of capitalism, the decadent bourgeois mentality of benefiting oneself at the expense of others and putting profit-making first, as well as anarchism and extreme individualism. Unless we wage a struggle against these erroneous ideas and trends, we will waver in these four basic principles, our society will be seriously corroded and our modernization program will not be smoothly accomplished.

Strengthening ideological and political work is not only urgently called for by the current readjustment but is a fundamental task of socialist construction. In order to build a modern and powerful socialist country, we must have a high order of material and spiritual civilization. Socialist spiritual civilization not only includes well-developed education, science, literature and art. It primarily refers to communist ideals, beliefs, moral values, discipline, revolutionary stand and principle, the comradely relationship among men and so on. In our modernization drive, we must fully bring into play the revolutionary spirit cultivated during the protracted revolutionary wars, that is, the spirit of strictly observing discipline and of self-sacrifice, the spirit of working selflessly and putting others before ourselves, the spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people of "utter devotion to others without any thought of self" and of "fearing neither hardship nor death," the spirit of crushing all enemies and difficulties and the spirit of adhering to revolutionary optimism and surmounting all difficulties to win victories. Compared with the days of the new democratic revolution, it is all the more necessary for us to apply this communist ideological system and moral standard to guide the words and deeds of all party members and cadres and, through the exemplary deeds of the party members and cadres, to create a good social atmosphere in the present period of socialist construction. In the practice of strengthening ideological and political work, we should create the new experience of combining the building up of material civilization with that of spiritual civilization and lay a reliable foundation for the future development of socialism.

Upholding party leadership is the core of upholding the four basic principles. The destiny of socialist modernization is closely linked with party leadership. Without party leadership, it is impossible to achieve the four modernization. Although our party was ravaged and sabotaged by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and had made many errors in its work since the founding of the People's Republic, it is still a long-tested party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, a party maintaining close ties with the masses and having the courage to make criticism and self-criticism. We have been able to lead the people of the whole country in winning a great victory in the new democratic revolution and the socialist transformation, and we will definitely be able to shoulder the historical mission of leading the people of the whole country in building our motherland into a powerful socialist country.

We must build up the confidence of the comrades of the whole party in building a modern and powerful socialist country and, through the exemplary deeds of party members at various posts, influence and guide the masses to enhance their spirit, unite as one, work with single-hearted devotion and advance steadily to achieve our great goals. Our people are good and it is the desire of the people of the whole country to speed up the realization of the four modernizations. As long as the party leaders at all levels improve their work style, carry out ideological and political work in a down-to-earth manner and explain to the people the reasons for economic readjustment, they can certainly enhance the confidence and determination of the people and help them overcome difficulties, work with one heart and one mind, do a good job of economic readjustment and lay a solid foundation for smoothly achieving the goal of the four modernizations. We are the creators of a new system and our future is bright.

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A CRYSTALLIZATION OF THE EXPERIENCE IN WINNING THE REVOLUTION--STUDYING VOLUME 1  
OF THE 'SELECTED WORKS OF ZHOU ENLAI'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 6-13

[Article by Shi Zhongquan (4258 0112 3163) and Yang Zenghe (2799 2973 0735)]

[Text] Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" consists of some of the important works written by Comrade Zhou Enlai during the period of the new democratic revolution. This book contains brilliant documents that sum up the experiences of winning the Chinese revolution.

In summing up the experiences of the Chinese democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Party building, armed struggle and the united front are the Chinese people's three main "magic weapons" for defeating the enemy. Comrade Zhou Enlai also generally summed up the experiences of the Chinese revolution in these respects. We can see from volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" that Comrade Zhou Enlai's summing up of the experiences of the Chinese revolution in these respects, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory, is consistent with Comrade Mao Zedong's ideas. The revolutionary concept and theory expounded in volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" played an important role in the formation of Mao Zedong Thought, and they are important components of Mao Zedong Thought of the period of democratic revolution. The publication of this volume is of great significance to studying the Chinese revolution and Mao Zedong Thought, summing up historical experiences and lessons and exploring ways of building socialism in China.

I

The Chinese Communist Party is the leading force in the Chinese revolution in modern times. How were we to conduct revolution in a backward semicolonial, semifeudal country with a large population and vast territory? The CCP was confronted with this problem from the very moment of its birth. Formulating a revolutionary line suited to China's actual conditions and seeking a way of leading the Chinese revolution to victory were the tasks the party had to first tackle in building and developing itself. Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" reflect the history of our party's search for a revolutionary road. During the first revolutionary civil war, many communists were groping for this road. The failure of this great revolution enabled our party to attain a greater understanding of the historical conditions of Chinese society and the peculiarities of the Chinese revolution. A large number of communists feared no brutal

force, advanced wave after wave and staged more than 200 armed insurrections within a span of about 1 year, making great sacrifices in the search for the road to victory for the revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong was the outstanding example of those who first found the correct practical and theoretical road. The revolutionary theory of armed revolution in the rural areas surrounding the cities occupied by the counterrevolutionaries and then capturing them, which he summed up, was a creative development of Marxism.

Comrade Zhou Enlai waged a heroic struggle in exploring ways of making revolution in both theory and practice. The major essays which he published when he was still in Europe on a work-study program, such as "Communism and China" and "On Revolution for National Salvation" were attempts to study the problem of the road of the Chinese revolution. After returning to China, he actively participated in the people's revolutionary struggles in the Guangdong area and in the Northern Expedition and led the third armed insurrection by Shanghai workers. These were his major activities in his search for the revolutionary road. The 1 August Nanchang Uprising, which he led following the failure of the great revolution, was a great attempt to find the road to revolutionary victory. After the uprising forces moved south to Guangdong, he began to think about building rural revolutionary base areas in an effort to lead the defeated forces to Haifeng and Lufeng and to join forces with the peasant movement there. At about the time of the sixth party congress, he was one of the principal leaders of the party Central Committee. He undertook a further study of theories and of the history of the revolutionary peasant war, of the Taiping Rebellion and of the Russian Revolution of 1905 in order to conduct an intensive search for the revolutionary road from the revolutionary experiences of the past and of the contemporary period, at home and abroad. When he learned that Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De had built a base area and an armed independent regime of workers and peasants in Jinggangshan, he suddenly saw the light and realized the significance of this revolutionary pioneering undertaking. He then explicitly pointed out: "First, there is the Red Army in the rural areas and then political power in the cities. This is a special characteristic of the Chinese revolution, a product of the economic base in China." ("CCP Central Committee's Letter of Instruction to the Front Committee of the 4th Army of the Red Army") Later, the Chinese revolution, under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, persisted on this road, surmounted overwhelming counterrevolutionary armed forces and won the great victory of the new democratic revolution.

In his works, Comrade Zhou Enlai told us: The way to the victory of the Chinese revolution was opened independently by the Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong through their own efforts. Independently deciding on the revolution's line, principles and policies in accordance with the actual conditions in China--this was the result of the courage and insight of the Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, which was tempered during the long course of revolutionary struggle. The reactionaries always vilified the CCP's ability to lead the Chinese revolution and did their utmost to distort the relations between our party and the Communist International. Comrade Zhou Enlai refuted the reactionaries' slanders and pointed out: "True, the CCP, in its birth and development, has received much guidance and assistance from the Communist International. However, the real support for the CCP did not come from the Communist International but from the Chinese people." After the disbanding

of the Communist International, "the CCP will solve the problems of the Chinese revolution ever more responsibly and independently." ("Speech at the Yanan Welcome Reception") The Communist International was the center of guidance for the international communist movement at that time. After helping to found the CCP, it gave many correct suggestions concerning the Chinese revolution and played a helpful role. However, it also gave many wrong instructions concerning the Chinese revolution. From the very beginning, some leaders of the Communist International were not happy with the Chinese way of surrounding the cities from the countryside. The Communist International representative in China was very dissatisfied with the Autumn Harvest Uprising led by Comrade Mao Zedong. At that time, the CCP Central Committee dismissed Comrade Mao Zedong from his leadership positions in the Central Committee pursuant to the so-called "political discipline" put forth by this representative. After the sixth party congress, their assessment of the soviet movement and Red Army movement in various areas was pessimistic. They wanted to transfer Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De, who were leading the Red Army in persisting in the struggle in the Hunan-Jiangxi border area, to attend study classes. As late as 1940, when Comrade Zhou Enlai went to the Communist International, they were still worried that the Chinese party was "too far away from the working class" and disapproved of the revolutionary road of surrounding the cities from the countryside upheld by Comrade Mao Zedong. The victory of the Chinese revolution was won by the Chinese communists represented by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and other comrades who independently applied Marxism-Leninism, integrated it with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and laid down a correct line. In his speech at the meeting commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, Comrade Ye Jianying highly appraised our party's experience in independently leading the revolution to victory. He said: "This fact shows that while it is not possible for the people of a country to win victory in a revolution in the absence of certain international conditions and of the support of the people of other countries, in the final analysis, they must rely on their own efforts and not on orders from another country or an international guiding center. They themselves must find, decide and chart the road to revolution suited to the characteristics of their own country. No one else has the right to impose his will on them. The victorious Chinese revolution has given a new and powerful impetus to world politics and world revolution and opened up bright vistas." Studying volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" will make us understand more clearly the significance of this passage.

The victory of the Chinese revolution was also won through arduous struggles with the "left" and right opportunist lines in the party. Comrade Zhou Enlai personally experienced each and every struggle between the two lines within the party. He took a clear-cut stand against the right opportunism advocated by Chen Duxiu. The first article in volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," "We in the Present Political Struggle," is a major work criticizing Chen Duxiu's opportunism. He also sharply criticized the "left" putschist line implemented by Comrade Qu Qiubai, stating that politically staging a "national general insurrection," militarily proposing the mobilization slogans of "kill the local tyrants" and "burn the cities" and organizationally adopting a punitive principle was a manifestation of "petty bourgeois revolutionary fanaticism." As soon as Comrade Li Lisan adopted the principle of "left" adventurism, he met with the opposition of Comrade Zhou Enlai. They had a heated argument on major questions

relating to the analysis of the situation and the party's strategy and principle of action. When the Lisan line was fully implemented, Zhou Enlai was out of the country. After he returned to China, he and Comrade Qu Qiubai took charge of correcting Comrade Li Lisan's errors. The articles "On Work in Wuhan" and "The Theoretical Basis of the Lisan Line" presented a systematic critique of this line. He did a great deal of work together with other comrades in an effort to correct these two "leftist" lines. As a result, party organizations in some localities were revived rather rapidly and revolutionary forces once again developed. In the past, the "gang of four" tried to create public opinion that slandered Comrade Zhou Enlai for committing errors in the previous two-line struggles inside the party. This was a serious distortion of party history. One will notice from the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" that Comrade Zhou Enlai was once criticized, suppressed, pushed aside and attacked by the erroneous lines. To implement the correct line laid down by the party, he worked hard and diligently, and was not upset by criticism. During the inner-party struggle between the two lines, he took the whole situation into account, adhered to the correct principle of inner-party struggle, opposed personal attacks, the punitive principle and politician-style practices, and never waged a ruthless struggle against his comrades or dealt them merciless blows, thus providing us with valuable spiritual treasures for correctly conducting inner-party struggle and building up the party's workstyle.

Like all great proletarian revolutionaries, Comrade Zhou Enlai also committed errors in some aspects of his work. In many articles and reports found in volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," he repeatedly mentioned this point. He never concealed faults and glossed over mistakes or concealed his errors for fear of criticism. On the contrary, he had a very strong sense of self-discipline, always seriously admitted his errors and took the initiative to bear the responsibility. As a matter of fact, he did resist Wang Ming's line. After Wang Ming usurped the leadership rights in the party Central Committee with the support of the Communist International, he attacked Zhou Enlai, claiming that Zhou had committed the error of "compromising" in the course of rectifying the Lisan line. When the Central Committee dominated by the Wang Ming line was attacking Comrade Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai disagreed with the decision to dismiss Comrade Mao Zedong from his leadership positions in the Red Army. Furthermore, he did not fear others' suspicions. He submitted military plans to Comrade Mao Zedong, who had been dismissed, to read and comment on and to get Mao's opinions. He was full of respect for Comrade Mao Zedong. During the five campaigns against "encirclement and suppression," he also presented dissenting views on the erroneous military line at that time. Thus, he was ostracized from the actual leadership of the central organs. During the Zunyi conference, he took a clear-cut stand in criticizing the Wang Ming line and firmly supported the correct proposals of Comrade Mao Zedong on reorganizing the central organs. He played an influential role in establishing Comrade Mao Zedong's position of leadership in the entire party.

Another important aspect of party building was work in the White areas. While working in the White areas, Comrade Zhou Enlai not only resisted and rectified the errors of "left" opportunism but also formulated a series of correct principles and policies based on the peculiarities of the White areas. He was one of the leaders of our party who spent the longest time working in the White areas



and, later, areas controlled by Chiang Kai-shek. His assessment of the party's experiences in underground work and the secret work system which he formulated and improved are important treasures in party building. After the defeat of the great revolution, party organizations in White areas suffered serious damage. In order to change the situation in which the party organizations were only a skeleton under White terror and the situation in which party cadres were totally isolated from the life of the masses, he put forth the correct line of asking the leading comrades to go down to the factories and rural areas and to live among the masses in order to restore and rebuild the party organizations. From the period after the anti-Japanese war to the liberation war, he instructed party organizations in the areas controlled by Chiang Kai-shek to win over the middle-of-the-roads, making use of legal methods and coordinating work at the higher levels with that at the grassroots level, coordinating overt work with covert work, coordinating open propaganda with secret propaganda and coordinating communications within the party with those without the party. Faced with the frenzied suppression of the reactionaries, party organizations must keep a sober mind and employ flexible strategies. They must be both firm and courageous and alert and cautious, must avoid confronting a tough situation with toughness, change work methods, rely on the broad masses of people and strictly abide by the rule of skillful maneuvers and clever coverups and separating the open from the secret. The experiences of ruthless struggles shows that these principles were correct. Under the leadership of the central bureau headed by Comrade Zhou Enlai, work in the KMT-controlled areas developed by leaps and bounds. As Comrade Mao Zedong said when commending XINHUA RIBAO, this work became another battlefield in the Chinese revolution. It was an important army in overthrowing the KMT reactionaries and winning victory in the whole country.

Comrade Zhou Enlai put a great deal of emphasis on the ideological building of our party and paid special attention to raising the Marxist theoretical level of the whole party and resisting the influence of all kinds of nonproletarian ideas in the party. The correctness of the party's political line is very closely related to the party's ideological line. Comrade Zhou Enlai held: In view of our party's situation, the low Marxist theoretical level and the existence of all kinds of nonproletarian ideas constitute one of the main reasons for the existence of left and right opportunism. In the article "The Theoretical Basis of the Lisan Line," he pointed out that, aside from the fact that Li Lisan was influenced by the "Trotskyist theory," the weak theoretical foundation of our party also encouraged the growth of the Lisan line. In the article "On Studying the Party's Sixth National Congress," he also cited the fact that, at the time of the sixth party congress, the party's theoretical level was not high and thus it was impossible for the party to bring forth the idea of surrounding the cities from the countryside, in order to show that an adequate Marxist theoretical level was necessary before the party could find the correct road for the Chinese revolution. Therefore, he attached great importance to the party's theoretical education and stressed that the party's leading cadres must have a clear-cut Marxist world outlook. ("How To Be a Good Leader") China is a country with a long history of feudal society and a relatively long history of semicolonial and semifeudal society. Feudal patriarchal thinking, the small producer and petty bourgeois mentality, and bourgeois thinking exert great influence on us. In the article "On Firmly Eliminating Nonproletarian Ideology From the Party," he pointed out that owing to the damage done to the party's system of democratic centralism by

the feudal patriarchal system, there was only "mechanical obedience and no vigorous party life" within the party. Analyzing the damage done by petty bourgeois ideas to the party, he incisively pointed out that the petty bourgeois idea of ultrafreedom is capable of shattering or even eliminating party organizations. In the article "On the United Front," he pointed to the bourgeois influence on the party which led to the right opportunist errors committed by the party. Thus, he stressed that in order to guarantee that the party have a correct line to guide the revolution to victory, we must resolutely eliminate all nonproletarian ideas from the party. All these important ideas on party ideological building advocated by Comrade Zhou Enlai are very important to us today in strengthening and improving party leadership.

## II

Comrade Zhou Enlai was one of the first of our party's leaders to recognize the importance of armed struggle and to engage in military work. During the first revolutionary civil war, he began to apply Marxist truths on armed struggle to China and took steps to reform the old troops and develop the revolutionary military forces. Consequently, what he did made it possible to launch the Nanchang Uprising after Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution, thus opening the first brilliant page in the history of armed struggle under the independent leadership of our party.

After the defeat of the great revolution, Comrade Zhou Enlai was one of the most responsible persons in our party doing military work. In order to stage armed insurrection in various places and to develop guerrilla warfare, the Central Military Commission under his direction not only gave political instructions and material aid but also sent out a great number of fine leading cadres, such as He Long, Zhou Yiqun, Deng Xiaoping, Zhang Yunyi, Xu Xiangqian and Chen Geng, to lead the armed struggle in the localities. After the short span of 4 years, when Comrade Zhou Enlai entered the central soviet area in 1931, the guerrilla war led by the party had spread to 12 provinces and more than 300 counties. Fifteen base areas had been established and the Red Army had expanded to 15 armies, with a total force of 100,000. The Jinggangshan form of struggle pioneered by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De had taken deep root on Chinese soil. A single spark had indeed started a prairie fire. No matter how much the reactionaries "encircled and suppressed," they could not eliminate this revolutionary armed force.

Comrade Zhou Enlai's summation of the experiences of armed struggle led by our party is very valuable. After the failure of the great revolution, our party gradually came to realize that, in order to launch armed struggle, we must take the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities. How could this be done? Only by building up the Red Army on the basis of armed insurrections in various localities in order to consolidate and expand the base areas and by staging thoroughgoing agrarian revolution in order to make the Red Army the propagandists and organizers of the party, the people's political power, land reform and all other work in the localities. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "At present, the basic task of the Red Army consists of the following: 1) To mobilize the masses, stage agrarian revolution and establish Soviet political power; 2) to wage guerrilla warfare, arm the peasants and expand its own organization; and 3) to expand guerrilla areas and their political

influence to the whole country." ("Letter of Instruction of the CCP Central Committee to the Front Committee of the 4th Army of the Red Army") This laid down a correct orientation for the development of the revolutionary armed struggle at that time. Take the situation of the Hunan-West Hubei base area as an example. The struggle there had a fairly good basis. However, comrades there lacked a clear understanding of the revolutionary situation in the whole country and of the task of guerrilla war and held certain unrealistic ideas when planning its expansion. Comrade Zhou Enlai was very concerned about their struggle. After reading their report, he pointed out: "What we must pay attention to at present is not to occupy big cities but to mobilize the masses in the countryside and conduct a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution. Therefore, your main task at present is to expand the guerrilla area and to broaden the mobilization of the masses and not to attempt to immediately occupy key industrial and commercial cities, which is beyond our subjective strength. (Primarily the masses' strength. We must not only have our eyes on armed strength.)" ("Some Questions Concerning the Development of the Hunan-West Hubei Soviet Area") This instruction was very important for the development of the Hunan-West Hubei base area. Later, Comrade He Long made use of rivers, harbors, lakes and streams to open up the Honghu Lake base area, enabling the Red Army to conduct activities on the river and streams and create a serious threat to the Wuhan area occupied by Chiang Kai-shek.

Comrade Zhou Enlai was also one of our party's pioneers in army political work. In many of his speeches and articles during the revolutionary period, he delivered outstanding discourses concerning the purpose, scope and methods of revolutionary political work and the role of political organs. Using Lenin's experience in building up the Red Army as a guide, he developed a complete set of systems for conducting revolutionary political work. This gave the Northern Expeditionary Army a brand-new look that distinguished it from older armies. Comrade Mao Zedong highly praised these experiences. After the founding of the Worker-Peasant Red Army, Comrade Zhou Enlai further stressed the important role of political work in army building. As early as 1934, he pointed out that political work is the lifeline of the Red Army. After the war of resistance against Japan, he criticized the erroneous assertion of some people in the KMT who said that revolutionary political work was like "selling dogskin plasters" and that political organs were ornaments. He further pointed out that "revolutionary political work based on a revolutionary doctrine is the lifeline and soul of all revolutionary armies." He also set many specific requirements for political work. With regard to the political education of officers and soldiers, he stressed the integration of theory with practice in order to "make every officer and soldier acquire a revolutionary and progressive outlook on life." With regard to methods, he said that we must "oppose formalism and religious rites in political education and try to stimulate the interest of the soldiers in study." Regarding political propaganda among the masses, he stressed protecting the people's interests and showing concern for the masses' suffering in order to "make the masses realize from their actual life that the army is the people's army." To do this work well, he attached great importance to the political workers' exemplary role and pointed out that "a political worker must be a model for the officers and soldiers ideologically, politically and in his actions. He must be faithful to the revolutionary doctrine, display an undaunted spirit and work arduously to influence all officers and men. He must be humble and friendly and must employ the method of patient persuasion to unite all officers and men." ("Political Work in the



Anti-Japanese Army") These ideas of Comrade Zhou Enlai's still have great significance for strengthening our political work in the army during the new historical period.

Comrade Zhou Enlai had great respect for the experiences in political work in the Red Army initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong. During the great revolution, party organizations in the troops controlled by our party started with party branches in regiments and party groups in battalions. Later, the party's strength grew. General party branches were set up in regiments, party branches in battalions and party groups in companies. To a certain degree, this was not beneficial to bringing the combat power of companies as the basic unit of command and fighting into play. During the early period of the agrarian revolution, Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De led the 4th Army in rebuilding party branches at the company level, effecting a marked change in the army's military and political life. Comrade Zhou Enlai fully affirmed and actively popularized this new experience. In his letter of instruction to the front committee of the Hunan-West Hubei base area, he pointed out: "In Zhu's and Mao's army, the company is the basic unit of party organization. One party branch is established in each company.... Because each company has a party organization, it has the party's guidance and assistance in its daily affairs and when performing combat duties.... This experience can serve as your reference in the future when you build party organizations in the army." ("Some Questions Concerning the Development of the Hunan-West Hubei Soviet Area") Thereafter, in its famous "September Letter" to the 4th Army of the Red Army, the Central Committee further affirmed Comrade Mao Zedong's great contributions in developing the base areas and in building up the Red Army and criticized various nonproletarian ideas existing in the Red Army, pointing out the way for mobilizing Red Army soldiers to rectify erroneous ideas through political education. This "September Letter" laid the ideological groundwork for the resolution of the Gutian conference adopted later by the 4th Army of the Red Army. The Gutian conference resolution is a further development of the ideas of the "September Letter." It solved many major ideological and organizational problems in building the Red Army. It is a programmatic document in building the people's army.

Many articles in the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" not only penetratingly sum up experiences in building the army politically, but also contain important discussions on the strategy and tactics of the people's army. Comrade Zhou Enlai was both a pioneer in political work in our army and a fine military commander and strategist. In our country, when the revolutionary forces were weak, the most suitable form of fighting to defeat the strong counterrevolutionary armed forces was guerrilla warfare. With regard to the strategy and tactics of China's guerrilla warfare, he opposed the military adventurism of "fighting a tough battle" without properly assessing the actual situation, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, he opposed the military conservatism that often led to missing a good opportunity for victory by trying to "avoid battle." He held that the development of the Red Army's guerrilla warfare "should best be directed toward the rural areas where class conflicts had intensified, to areas where party and mass organizations are well-established and to areas where there is an abundant supply of logistics and where the terrain is difficult of access." ("Some Questions Concerning the Development of the Hunan-West Hubei Soviet Area") On the process of guerrilla warfare, he held: The cardinal principle is to spread



out in order to conduct guerrilla warfare but also to have centralized guidance. He fully affirmed the flexible guerrilla and mobile war tactics formulated by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De. The campaign staged by the central Red Army against Chiang Kai-shek's fourth counterrevolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaign, which he led, was a model in using these flexible strategies and tactics. When the Central Committee dominated by the Wang Ming line dismissed Comrade Mao Zedong from his military post, he and Comrade Zhu De personally went to the front to command the battle, resisting the Central Committee's and the Central Bureau of the Soviet Areas' erroneous order demanding that the Red Army initiate an assault on county seats where large numbers of enemy troops were stationed. Instead, they employed the strategy of retreating in order to confuse the enemy. They invented the tactics of ambushing a large contingent of troops, concentrating forces to successively eliminate the enemy in mobile warfare and victoriously smashing the enemy's "encirclement and suppression." The "Cable on Smashing the Fourth 'Encirclement and Suppression' Campaign" is a truthful record of Comrade Zhou Enlai's correct utilization of correct strategic and tactical principles. The materialization of the great strategic evacuation led and commanded by Comrade Mao Zedong--the 25,000-li Long March--also embodied Comrade Zhou Enlai's painstaking efforts in applying the art of military command. After the Long March, Comrade Zhou Enlai assisted Comrade Mao Zedong in devising strategies, and participated in formulating important strategic decisions and battle plans during various periods of the war, thus contributing his talents as an outstanding military strategist to the victory of the Chinese revolutionary war.

### III

The formation by the Chinese proletariat of a united front with the bourgeoisie and other classes on the basis of establishing a solid alliance of workers and peasants was an important aspect of the Chinese revolution. It was also one of the basic experiences of the victorious Chinese revolution.

Comrade Zhou Enlai engaged in united front work at a very early period. While he was still in Paris on a work-study program, the European branch of the CYL was established. In accordance with the CCP Central Committee's instructions and the spirit of the decision of the third party congress to cooperate with the KMT in building a united front, he helped to set up the KMT headquarters in France and was elected one of the responsible persons of the KMT headquarters. After he returned to China in August 1924, he assumed an important position and actively struggled for the consolidation and development of the revolutionary united front. Thus, he became the party leader with the longest experience in and greatest contribution to our party's united front activities. In the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," the article "On the United Front" and other articles penetratingly sum up the historical experiences and lessons of the party's united front work. They enrich the theory and strategy of the party's united front work.

On the experiences and lessons of the united front, Comrade Zhou Enlai held: First, it is necessary to maintain the proletariat's independence and initiative in the political, ideological and organizational spheres, to insist on the Communist Party's leading role in united front work and to realize the proletariat's leadership over the peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, including leadership over some big landlords and capitalists during certain

periods and with regard to certain problems. He said: "The question of leadership is the focal problem in united front work." ("On the United Front") In the united front, the main rival to the Communist Party's leadership was the KMT. Cooperation between the CCP and KMT, and even the fact of communist members joining the KMT, such as during the time of the great revolution, "does not mean that the CCP would lose its independence and would stoop to make any independent proposal.... Aside from assisting the KMT and the KMT government, the CCP must also put forth political and economic demands on behalf of the worker and peasant classes within the scope of democratic politics and urge the KMT government to gradually implement them." ("We in the Present Political Struggle") Both "left" and right opportunism did not understand the significance of this problem. Thus, they committed grave errors. Right opportunism abandoned the party's leadership and willingly let the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and other revolutionary forces be led by other people. "Left" opportunism ruthlessly attacked the petty bourgeoisie and made itself a "commander without soldiers." Comrade Zhou Enlai described this vividly: "Right opportunism is giving away the whole army while 'left' opportunism is pushing away the whole army." ("On the United Front")

Comrade Zhou Enlai already had a clear understanding of the great importance of the proletariat's persisting in its leadership as early as the time of the great revolution. When criticizing Chen Duxiu's right capitulationism, he pointed out: "The national bourgeoisie always tends to compromise. The petty bourgeoisie often vacillates. Only the proletariat is an uncompromising revolutionary class. We must rely on its uncompromising struggle against the enemies, hand in hand with the peasants and handicraftsmen and at the head of the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, to achieve the real goal of the national revolution--national emancipation and realization of democratic politics." ("We in the Present Political Struggle") During the early stage of the anti-Japanese war, Wang Ming repeated Chen Duxiu's mistake. He abandoned the CCP's leadership in the anti-Japanese war and the principle of independence. He advocated "everything through the united front," pinning the hope for victory in the resistance war on Chiang Kai-shek, and put forth the so-called "seven unifications," viz, unified command, unified organization, unified armament, unified discipline, unified treatment, unified war plans and unified combat actions. He also suggested that the establishment of the Shaanxi-Qahar-Hebei border base area opened up by the 8th Route Army had to be approved. Everything done through the united front was, in reality, to be done through the military orders and government ordinances of the KMT. Following the "seven unifications" would put us under the unified military command of the KMT. This would make us an accessory of the KMT. When summing up this lesson, Comrade Zhou Enlai further clarified the principle of independence, pointing out: "Independence refers to the proletariat's independence. It must have its independent policies and thinking. It unites with others but is not assimilated by others.... The proletariat's unity in the united front is unity with others on the condition of upholding independence. It is not influenced by other classes." ("On the United Front")

Second, it is necessary to persist in the principle of developing progressive forces, winning over the middle-of-the-road forces and isolating, splitting and attacking the diehard elements in order to win over the broadest forces to the alliance and build the broadest revolutionary united front. To develop progressive forces, we must primarily rely on the peasants. In the new democratic

revolution, the peasants were the proletariat's most reliable ally. They were the main force of the revolution. "With the peasants at our side, we can both advance and retreat. Without the peasants, we would be advancing in isolation and would have no place to retreat." ("On the United Front") During the period of the great revolution, we did a relatively good job in mobilizing the peasants. Both in the army and in the support forces outside the army, the peasants constituted the vast majority. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "That was the high tide of the mass revolutionary movement. It was unprecedented in history. Such a high tide did not even appear during the anti-Japanese resistance war." ("On Studying the Sixth CCP National Congress") During the early period of the anti-Japanese war, some comrades working in the KMT-ruled areas were influenced by Wang Ming right opportunism. They did not sufficiently mobilize the masses. Unlike what was done in the rear areas in northern China, they did not make use of the opportunity presented by the KMT army's retreat to carry out extensive guerrilla warfare in the rural areas and to launch a thoroughgoing democratic movement. After the criticism of Wang Ming's rightist line, the work in the rural areas of central China was strengthened. These areas played an important role in backing up the New 4th Army's efforts to fight the Japanese.

The national bourgeoisie included all political forces representing this social class. It was a middle-of-the-road force in the united front. During the period of CCP-KMT cooperation, an important aspect in the two parties' contention for leadership was the struggle for the leadership of the middle-of-the-road forces. The middle-of-the-road forces had a dual character. Our party's task was to use all possible means to encourage their positive aspect, resist their tendency to compromise or their reactionary tendency and unite them to join the struggle for national liberation and democratization. Both newspaper propaganda to clarify policies and in-depth and meticulous education were necessary for this task. In one of his speeches in Yanan, Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "To win them over, we must rely on the influence of our propaganda. But relying only on propaganda will not do. We must befriend them, whether they are diehards or progressives. We must be resolute. We should try to win over even the diehards." During the resistance war against Japan, he himself diligently befriended people and made contacts. He made use of all kinds of occasions and employed various methods to propagandize the party's views, to remove the middle elements' estrangement from the party and to make them gradually change their attitude and move closer to the party. The wide scope of his activity involved eminent personalities in society, leaders of democratic parties, KMT politicians, local military strongmen, top-level intellectuals and industrialists, merchants and capitalists. In a report in 1945, he said: "During this trip to Chongqing, everybody I invited to come to my house for dinner did so. This had never happened before. This shows that the actual policies of our border areas won them over and attracted them." Thus, Ku Chengkang also said: "Zhou Enlai is flying all over. This makes people nervous. The strange thing is that even the industrial sector has had contacts with him." This vivid example shows from another angle the correctness of our party's policy of winning over the middle-of-the-road forces.

Third, it is necessary to be keenly aware of changes inside the enemy's camp and adopt the principle that the struggle must be waged on just grounds, to our advantage and with restraint. In China, the target of the revolution, imperialism, did not consist of only one group. The big landlords and big capitalists also had



their different factions and cliques. Contradictions existed between them. Thus, during different historical periods, there were various changes in the enemy's camp. Sometimes, they were united and they dealt with the revolution with one mind. At other times, they took different attitudes toward the revolution owing to their various interests. Yesterday's enemy could become today's friend, and today's friend could become tomorrow's enemy. This meant that we had to constantly analyze class relationships and formulate correct strategies in the struggle. Both "left" and right opportunism did not have a clear understanding of this question. They failed to see the great changes occurring in the enemy's camp at the turning points of the revolution. Right opportunism often still regarded those who had been friends yesterday but who had become enemies today as friends. For example, during the latter part of the great revolution, after Chiang Kai-shek, and later Wang Chingwei, became enemies, right opportunism still treated them as friends. It blindly compromised and gave in and, in the end, capitulated. On the other hand, "left" opportunism continued to regard those who had been enemies yesterday but who could become friends today as enemies. For example, after the "18 September incident," the KMT 19th Route Army established the Fujian People's Government. It shifted from the position of attacking the Red Army to seeking cooperation with the Red Army. "Left" opportunism continued to regard it as an enemy and fought against it. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out that only the ideology represented by Comrade Mao Zedong "was able to correctly understand the transformation of contradictions in the process of historical development, was able to know and analyze the enemy at all times and was able to put forth the correct principles to defeat the enemy." ("On the United Front") After Japanese imperialism invaded China, the national contradiction became the principal contradiction. Our party put forth the timely slogan of "Stop the civil war, unite to fight the Japanese" and our strategy changed from fighting Chiang Kai-shek to forcing Chiang Kai-shek to fight the Japanese, persisting in the peaceful solution of the Xian incident. This brought about the formation of the national united front to fight the Japanese. However, Chiang Kai-shek never gave up his desire to fight an anticommunist civil war. He constantly tried to eliminate the revolutionary forces. After a series of incidents, our party had a very clear idea of his true character. We adopted the principle of waging struggles on just grounds, to our advantage and with restraint toward him. In the end, we defeated the three anticommunist high tides which he had stirred up. Thus, the united front did not break up and he was forced to continue to uphold the banner of resistance against Japan. During the long process of the Chinese revolution, our party's united front persisted in the principle of combining unity with struggle and seeking unity through struggle in order to win the victory of the Chinese revolution.

The basic idea of the united front was to unite the vast majority and win over all forces that could be won over to join the revolution. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: During the period of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong's idea was to concentrate the Chinese people's forces on the road of new democracy "to win over the broadest masses of people to unite around the proletariat, in order to win the victory of the revolution." ("Learn From Mao Zedong") The basic idea of the united front is indispensable for doing a good job in socialist construction. In the past, it was a magic weapon which helped the Chinese people to win the victory of the revolution. At present, it is still a magic weapon in the Chinese people's building of socialism. Like the road traversed by the

Chinese revolution in the past, China's building of socialism is an extremely arduous historical task. To accomplish this historical task, we must unite people of various nationalities in the country, mobilize all positive factors, have one heart and one mind and struggle in unity.

The Chinese revolution is one of the greatest revolutions in the world. The experience of the victorious Chinese revolution can be summed up in one point, viz, integrating the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. This is the most basic lesson in all our experiences. Comrade Zhou Enlai's assessment of the experience of the Chinese revolution fully shows that he deserves to be honored as a great Marxist of our party. In studying volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," we must learn from Comrade Zhou Enlai's revolutionary spirit and scientific attitude, apply general Marxist-Leninist principles to solve China's current social problems and strive to fulfill the historic mission of building socialism.

CSO: 4004

LETTER TO WEN YUNCHANG (27 NOVEMBER 1937)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 14-15

[Letter by Mao Zedong]

[Text] Cousin Yunchang:

Mo Liben [5459 4539 2609] (a young comrade who arrived in Yanan from Changsha in November 1937) has arrived and brought your personal letter to me. Today I also received the detailed instruction of 16 November, with which I am greatly pleased.

I am deeply grieved over the passing away of your eighth uncle and eighth aunt. It is a pleasure to know that all the other cousins and their wives are in good health. Distressful family circumstances are not unique to just some families or individuals, for this is true for the majority of people throughout the country. Our only way out is to struggle together to drive out Japanese imperialism. I believe that your work is quite satisfactory. We have just enough clothes to wear and food to eat here, and all are treated the same, from the commander in chief at the top down to the mess cooks at the bottom. Because our party has devoted itself to serving the country, the nation and the laboring masses at the expense of personal interests, everyone is treated equally and receives no pay. If your family burdens are too heavy, it will be best for you to obtain some relief by finding a job elsewhere. Therefore, it is not suitable for you to come here. The journey is very long, and I also cannot send any traveling money to you. It is a good idea to establish a military school in Hunan, but the plan is difficult to carry out. Although personally I would like to help you, my cousin, it is in reality difficult to do so. The organization had sent 20 yuan for traveling expenses to Zhou Runfang not too long ago because she is the wife of martyr Ze Tan [3419 6009] (Ze Tan was killed 2 years ago). This is how it was handled by the organization, and not because of my personal reasons. I respectfully ask for your forgiveness. I am endeavoring to serve society, and this includes the extremely respected and beloved family of my mother and all the poor people in my native village. Although I think very fondly of every cousin and nephew from my mother's family as well as all the poor people in my native village, this is the only way I can be of use to help all of you. Perhaps all of you have already understood this.

Even though this is the current situation, I still would like to communicate frequently with you and other cousins and nephews, for even a few words from you all will give me some satisfaction.

Do you know anything about the situation in Shaoshan? Please notify my relatives in the countryside at your convenience that I would be very glad to communicate with them if they are willing to do so. However, please tell them not to look for jobs here, because there is no pay here.

How is Mr Liu Linsheng (he was from the same home town of Wen Yunchang and is now deceased)? Please extend my regards to him if you write to him.

An all-out attack is being launched by Japanese imperialism, and our work is very tense. But we are very happy and healthy. Our health is much better than 2 years ago, and please relay this message to all the cousins and their wives and children in Tangjiatuo. You may tell them that the victory won by the 8th Route Army is also their victory so as to console everybody's difficulties and hardships.

I respectfully wish you and your wife good health!

Mao Zedong, 27 November

CSO: 4004

## NOTES ON READING THE LETTER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 16-17

[Article by Xiao Ran [5135 3544]]

[Text] This letter written by Comrade Mao Zedong has been displayed in Shaoshan, Beijing and other localities since the 1950's and has aroused the enthusiastic response among the broad masses of people. It has now been published in newspapers and other publications. This is of great significance in educating the masses of party members and cadres and rectifying the party's workstyle. Here, I want to furnish some background information about this letter and talk about my impressions of it.

Mr Wen Yunchang was a native of Tangjiage (i.e., Tangjiatuo) village, Xiangxiang County. He was Comrade Mao Zedong's cousin (Mao Zedong's mother was Mr Wen Yunchang's aunt). Comrade Mao Zedong loved his mother very much. He therefore had a deep love for his relatives on his mother's side. According to the old folks at Tangjiatuo, during the Spring Festival and on other red-letter days, Mao Zedong, when young, usually paid visits to his relatives on his mother's side. He also often borrowed books from them. When he was 13 years old, he stayed in the village and engaged in farming. He borrowed 11 books including "Sheng Shi Wei Yan" [Warnings in Times of Peace and Prosperity] and "Xin Min Cong Bao" [New People's Miscellany]. A note written by him to Mr Wen Yunchang when he returned the books can still be found. The note reads: "Dear Yunchang, 11 books are returned herewith. The cloth case holding 'Sheng Shi Wei Yan' was lost and the first page of 'Xin Min Cong Bao' was torn. I am very sorry about this. I beg your pardon." "Sheng Shi Wei Yan" was written in 1893 by Zheng Guanying, a reformist in Guangdong. It deeply influenced Mao Zedong during his youth. When he later conversed with Edgar Snow, he said that he had "a great liking" for this book and that it aroused his desire to resume his schooling. When he was 16, his father wanted him to serve as an apprentice in a rice shop in the county town of Xiangtan. At the beginning, he did not object to this. When he learned from Mr Wen Yunchang that there was a "new-style school" in the county town of Xiangxiang and when the latter urged him to resume his schooling, he made up his mind to continue his studies. After vehemently arguing with his father and after obtaining assistance from Mr Wang Jifan (a cousin of Mao's and Wen's), he enrolled in this school, the Dongshan Senior Primary School. Comrade Mao Zedong later recalled: "I made much progress while studying in that school." Using this school as a stepping-stone, he gained entrance to a middle school in Changsha. When he left Dongshan Senior Primary School for Changsha, he made transcript



copies of a poem in his own handwriting and gave them to his cousins Wen Jianquan and Wen Yunchang. This poem reads: "A youngster is determined to leave his hometown. He will not return until he has made achievements in his studies. It is not necessary for one to die in one's native village. One will come across green hills everywhere in one's path of life." In fact, whether Comrade Mao Zedong could continue his schooling was a major turning point in the development of his life career.

During the early 1930's, Mr Wang Jifan was headmaster of Changjun Middle School and Mr Wen Yunchang was in charge of its general affairs. However, at the beginning of 1937, Mr Wang Jifan was pushed out of his post by the KMT reactionaries. Mr Wen also was idle at home. He lived in poverty because he had heavy obligations. In his letters to Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Mao Zemin (who was then residing at the Xibei Leather Goods Store in Xian) in November of the same year, he poured out his woes and expressed his intention to find a job. Comrade Mao Zedong received his letter on 15 November. Deeply concerned, he immediately called to his presence the young student who brought the letter, and asked in detail about the conditions of Wen Yunchang, Wang Jifan and other educational workers in Changsha, the social conditions in Hunan and, in particular, the conditions of the Hunan students' movement for national salvation. The interview lasted about an hour. According to what this comrade could recall, Comrade Mao Zedong was then living in a cave dwelling at the foot of Fenghuang Mountain in the northwestern part of Yanan city. This cave dwelling was used as his office and bedroom and was simply furnished. He was wearing a cotton-padded coat, which was old and a bit greasy. He looked emaciated and had long hair. Yet his face was glowing with health and he was bright and brave in appearance. What impressed him most deeply, this comrade commented, was that Comrade Mao Zedong humbly received and attentively listened to a young student and did not assume airs.

Judging by the above conditions and Comrade Mao Zedong's letter, he had deep feelings for Mr Wen Yunchang, his relatives on his mother's side, and his relatives and friends and "all the needy village folks" in Shaoshan, and showed much concern for their well-being. This indicated that he, as he always said, wanted to listen to the voice of the masses and to share the same fate and breathe the same air with them.

In his letter, he sent special regards to an old gentleman, Mr Liu Linsheng. These were no ordinary regards to old acquaintances. Every time Comrade Mao Zedong went to Hunan after liberation, he would call on and chat with the democrats and cultural and educational figures other than the leading comrades and laboring people at various levels. During the early 1950's, he personally called on Mr Yang Shuda at Hunan University. Later, he also received some other old gentlemen and had chats with them. When he visited Shaoshan in 1959, he invited Mr Mao Yuju, who had been his tutor in an old-style private school, to dinner. When he offered a toast to the old gentleman, the latter said: "The chairman offers a toast to me. I do not deserve such an honor." The student replied: "I want to show my respect to the elder. You do deserve this honor." This was an example of how Comrade Mao Zedong respected the intellectuals and paid close attention to united front work, as he always called upon us to do.

We can also see from the letter that, when it came to people, Comrade Mao Zedong always proceeded from the stand of showing concern for all the people and attaching great importance to all affairs of the state and the nation. He said in the letter: "We have just enough clothes to wear and food to eat here, and everyone is treated the same, from the commander in chief at the top to the mess cooks at the bottom. Because our party has devoted itself to serving the country, the nation and the laboring masses at the expense of personal interests, everyone is treated equally and receives no pay." He meant by this the party's revolutionary spirit of fighting selflessly to emancipate the whole nation and the toiling people and of practicing equality among all within the revolutionary ranks. This spirit of devoting oneself to the public without any thought of self and of subordinating personal interests to the interests of the party and the people is precisely the glorious, fine tradition of our party.

This letter also showed that Comrade Mao Zedong was very serious about distinguishing between public and private interests when he handled the question concerning his relations with his relatives and friends. It reflected the communists' natural political color of utter devotion to the public without any thought of self. It also embodied the communists' fine tradition of never using their power or positions to seize personal profits but of subordinating their personal interests to the interests of the party and the people. At the same time, Comrade Zedong was not indifferent to the "difficulties and hardships" of his relatives and friends and the "needy village folk." On the contrary, he adopted the revolutionary attitude of showing sympathy for them and patiently teaching them and pointing the way out to them. He said: "Distressful family circumstances are not unique to just some families or individuals, for this is true for the majority of people throughout the country. Our only way out is to struggle together to drive out Japanese imperialism." He asked Wen Yunchang to tell the needy village folks that "the victory of the 8th Route Army is also their victory so as to console everybody's difficulties and hardships." He told the village folks: "I am endeavoring to serve society, and this includes the extremely respected family of my mother and all the poor people in my native village. Although I think very fondly of every cousin and nephew from my mother's family as well as all the poor people in my native village, this is the only way I can be of use to help all of you. Perhaps all of you have already understood this." What broadmindedness! This represented the attitude of conscientiously assuming responsibility for the people!

The letter written by Comrade Mao Zedong was touching. It was particularly touching because it infused the aspirations, thinking and sentiment of a communist into the small talk with relatives and friends. It reflected the writer's greatness through his handling of ordinary matters. Although Comrade Mao Zedong had great faults during his last years, his correct ideas, including those conveyed in this letter, are a precious legacy which we should inherit and highly value.

After reading Comrade Mao Zedong's letter, we cannot help but remind ourselves that some young party members and cadres today have not established a correct relationship with the people and have not correctly handled the relationship between their personal interests and the interests of the people. This is not entirely their fault, because they were not tempered in hardships during the

revolutionary war period and have not been well educated in the party's fine traditions. On the contrary, they were poisoned during the decade of catastrophe and were confused ideologically. Apparently, they need to make up the lessons they have missed. They are not qualified to be communists or revolutionary cadres if they do not make up these compulsory lessons they have missed. This also reminds us that a very small number of old party members and veteran cadres are now seeking privileges, going in for unhealthy tendencies and practicing bureaucracy. They try to get personal gains by taking advantage of the power and positions given them by the people. This means that they have forgotten their class origin. They have forgotten their past experiences of waging guerrilla warfare and being imprisoned. They have forgotten the aspirations they had when they joined the revolution and the oaths they took when they were admitted into the party. They have forgotten the history of how the party won the revolution by relying on the people and becoming one with the people. They have forgotten the truth that the people are always our supporters and we can only be their servants. In short, they have forgotten the party's fine tradition. It is now time for this small number of comrades to wake up and repent.

Of course, the majority of our party members and cadres today are good or relatively good. But this does not mean that they are flawless and are without faults and mistakes. During the new historical period when our party is leading the people of the whole country to carry out the four modernizations, all our party members and cadres should carry forward the party's fine tradition and establish a correct relationship with the people. Comrade Mao Zedong's letter is like a mirror for us all. Comrades, let every one of us look in this mirror.

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## ANOTHER DISCOURSE ON REGULATION BY PLANNING MECHANISM AND REGULATION BY MARKET MECHANISM

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[Article by Xue Muqiao [3641 2350 2890]]

[Text] The socialist economy is a planned economy. Under the specific conditions of our country, this planned economy must be integrated with a commodity economy. How to integrate a planned economy with a commodity economy according to objective laws is a new problem.

We learned from the Soviet experience when we started the construction of our planned economy. Before the 1950's, the Soviet-style planned economy was theoretically based on the view of Marx and Engels that production and exchange of commodities do not exist in a socialist society. If there is no production or exchange of commodities, naturally there will not be any market or market economy. It was only in his later years, when he wrote "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," that Stalin acknowledged that in a socialist society the production of commodities still exists and the law of value still plays a role. However, he also believed that the products exchanged among state enterprises were no longer commodities and only the outward appearance of their being commodities remained. Therefore, among the state enterprises there was merely a transfer of products (planned distribution) without any exchange of commodities. In particular, the means of production were exchanged solely according to the method of planned distribution. Guided by this economic thought, people have emphasized regulation by planning mechanism alone and have believed that regulation by market mechanism is unnecessary.

Over the past few years, our country's economists have gradually realized, on the basis of three decades of practical experience, that although socialist state enterprises are owned by the whole people, unified business accounting on a nationwide scale (extreme collectivism) is impossible. The enterprises must practice business accounting individually and they must carry out exchange at equal value among themselves. Marx said that this is a generally applicable principle for the exchange of commodities. We are now gradually expanding the power of enterprises to act on their own. When the time is ripe, we will try the method of paying income taxes to the higher authorities instead of turning over the profits to the higher authorities, so that the enterprises will assume sole responsibility for their profits or losses after paying taxes. Thus, the exchange among the state enterprises will undoubtedly be an exchange of commodities. The



means of production are also commodities and can naturally be offered for sale in the market. Last year, there was great progress in this respect. Therefore, sometimes we describe the socialist economy as a socialist commodity economy in which the public ownership of the means of production enjoys absolute predominance. In the past, many economists have confused the commodity economy with the capitalist economy, and it seems that a commodity economy cannot simultaneously be a socialist economy. Actually, the commodity economy and the capitalist economy are not the same thing. Marx distinguished the simple commodity economy (the commodity economy comprising small producers) from the capitalist commodity economy. We can now also distinguish the commodity economy based on the system of private ownership of the means of production by the capitalists from the commodity economy based on the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production. The former is called the capitalist commodity economy and the latter is called the socialist commodity economy.

The concept of socialist commodity economy, based on the system of public ownership of the means of production, is a new concept. For one thing, the planned economy must be practiced on the basis of the system of public ownership of the means of production. For another thing, the market economy must also be practiced because the economy is still a commodity economy. Therefore, in our country's economic management system, the planned economy must be integrated with the market economy. This is what we have referred to over the past few years as integrating regulation by planning mechanism with regulation by market mechanism and fully exploiting the role of the market under the guidance of planning. Therefore, although our market economy is essentially different from that of the capitalist countries, it bears many resemblances to their market economy and we must observe certain common laws of the market economy. The modern market economy differs from the market economy of the medieval towns, which comprised small producers, and is based on socialized large-scale production characterized by a high degree of development of the productive forces. The structure of such a market economy is very complicated and must be analyzed scientifically. This is an important problem which we must conscientiously study when we reform our economic management system.

To begin with, we practice the planned economy because of the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production. By virtue of such ownership, we must and can practice planned management of the national economy. On the whole, our national economy must be under planned management. Macroeconomics deals with the management of the entire national economy. A socialist state must practice planned management of the entire national economy. The main objects of planned management are the scale of economic construction, the people's living standard and the interrelationship between the two, or, in other words, accumulation, consumption and their interrelationship. State planning must strictly control the scale of economic construction (accumulation) and also control the extent of improvement of the people's livelihood (consumption). Not only must an appropriate proportion be maintained between the two, but what is more important, the sum of accumulation and consumption must not be allowed to exceed the total national income. Socialist states often want to speed up economic construction and consequently set aside too much accumulation funds, which exceed the value of the possible supply of the means of production. They also want the people's livelihood to improve faster, and consequently the consumption funds may become too

large and exceed the value of the possible supply of the means of livelihood. If the sum of accumulation funds and consumption funds exceeds the national income, i.e., exceeds the net income after deducting the materials consumed in production from the social production (including the means of production and the means of livelihood), then there will be financial deficits, inflation and disproportion in the national economy.

Socialist countries are prone to these troubles. If we seek a high output growth rate, we must expand the scale of economic construction and increase accumulation funds. When such funds are excessive, the consumption funds must be decreased, so that the people's livelihood cannot be improved. If the people's livelihood is simultaneously improved and the consumption funds are increased, the sum of accumulation and consumption funds may exceed the national income, resulting in financial deficits, inflation and disproportion in the national economy. From 1958 to 1976, our country adopted the policy of a high rate of economic development, a high accumulation rate and a low level of consumption. Consequently, the people's livelihood did not improve for a long time and the livelihood of some of the people even deteriorated. In 1977 and 1978, the high rates of accumulation and economic growth were sustained and there were also efforts to improve the people's livelihood. Consequently, the disproportion in the national economy was aggravated. From 1979 onward, we have attempted to reduce the rate of output growth and the scale of economic construction and have been determined to improve the people's livelihood simultaneously. However, the scale of economic construction has not been successfully curtailed (planned construction decreased slightly while unplanned construction spending increased), the consumption funds exceeded the planned figures and there were considerable financial deficits. It is now difficult to control the level of prices, chiefly because the deficits are too large, and we must issue more paper money. This year we must carry out readjustment with greater determination. Disproportion has been building up over the past 20 years (since 1958) and in particular over the past decade (since 1970). The 10 years of catastrophe brought our national economy to the brink of collapse. After the smashing of the "gang of four," we should have spent several years readjusting the proportional relationships so as to regain our strength. However, because we did not sum up historical experience, we still continued to go all out. In 1978 in particular, we started several large projects, and it will take at least a few years to remedy the results.

Even now some comrades still adhere obstinately to the old ideology of high output and high accumulation rate. They say that to improve the people's livelihood, we must quicken the growth of output, and to this end we must expand the scale of economic construction; this is the objective law of economic development. They believe that because the scale of capital construction has been repeatedly reduced since 1979, the output growth rate drops year after year and the people's livelihood cannot be improved. This sounds quite reasonable to anyone who does not understand the concrete situation. The actual situation is that for many years not only accumulation and consumption but production and construction have suffered from disproportion. The weak links of production and construction are the sources of energy and communications, but most of the major construction projects started in 1978, in particular the imported items, consume vast quantities of energy resources (oil, coal and electricity) and aggravate the shortage in communications and transport services, and will therefore aggravate the

disproportion. The output of oil and coal has not increased over the past few years and will not increase in the next few years. This is not because capital construction investments have been reduced since 1979, but because several years ago we blindly pursued high growth rates and spent the unearned income. We are now making up for the shortage caused by a high growth rate. (The results of reducing the scale of capital construction will become manifest only after 5 or 6 years. Moreover, we have not curtailed the investment in energy resources.) If we had continued to implement the plans formulated in 1978, not only would we be unable to maintain the high growth rate, but such retrogression as experienced in 1961 and 1962 would very probably occur. In this light, it is quite essential to strengthen the planned management of the national economy (the plans must be correct) and firmly grasp the comprehensive equilibrium of the national economy. We should not relax our efforts.

When we say we must enliven the national economy, we do not mainly refer to its macroeconomic aspect, but we intend to increase the power of the enterprises to act on their own in the microeconomic arena. The interrelationships among various enterprises should embody the extensive use of the principles of exchange of commodities and the extensive exploitation of the role of the market. In particular, the laws that must be observed in socialized large-scale production must be studied. In its macroeconomic aspect, the economy must be rigorously controlled. Equilibrium must be achieved in finance, credit, material resources and foreign exchange. The control over other economic management systems can then be relaxed without causing much disruption. People worry about uncontrollable rises in the prices of goods if control were to be relaxed. Actually, inflation is the basic cause of rises in the price level. If the issuing of currency is strictly controlled, the price levels will not rise. If there is inflation, price rises will be uncontrollable. Of course, after practicing regulation by market mechanism, we must still strengthen management. This does not mean that control over the economy can be dispensed with. Actually, we will adopt other methods of control, such as economic legislation, pricing policies, taxation policies, credit policies and so on. Capitalist states also manage their market economies with a great deal of economic legislation and also frequently use taxation policies, in particular policies concerning bank credit, to interfere in the development of the economy. Sometimes they raise interest rates and tighten credit to curb inflation. Sometimes they lower interest rates and relax credit to prevent recession. These are methods put forward by the Keynesian school of thought. After the economic recession of 1974, the Keynesian theory was discredited, but the governments of various countries are still adopting the Keynesian methods of state intervention. A socialist state does not control the macroeconomic aspect of the economy mainly through the banking system. Through state planning, it can achieve those goals which capitalist countries cannot achieve.

In the macroeconomic arena, we must rigorously practice regulation by planning mechanism. At present, we must not only curtail planned investment, but must also control unplanned investment, including bank loans and funds raised by the localities and enterprises themselves. From now on, we must gradually replace a portion of fiscal appropriations with bank loans. Therefore, the state must not only formulate fiscal plans but also plans for bank loans. The people's living standard must also be controlled. In the coming few years, increments in the national income will be mainly used for improving the people's livelihood.



However, the growth in consumption funds must certainly not exceed the growth in national income. Otherwise, the growth in consumption funds will not be insured by material resources, the price level will rise with an increased issue of paper money, and the extra money earned by the people will become worthless. Last year, some enterprises lavishly distributed bonuses and the total wages exceeded the level prescribed by state planning. However, many workers have said that the additional bonuses could just compensate for the rises in the prices of goods. Their actual livelihood did not improve significantly, and those who were not awarded bonuses were even worse off. Distributing more bonuses leads to the issuing of more money and, therefore, brings about a rise in the price level, which in turn calls for the distribution of additional bonuses. A vicious circle like this will be very dangerous. In the coming few years, state planning must strictly prevent this.

To fully exploit the role of the market, we must gradually increase the power of the localities, in particular the enterprises, to act on their own, with planning and with leadership from the top. Last year, many localities practiced complete responsibility for income and expenditure and many enterprises plowed back their own profits. The overall results are very good. However, there are many problems, which fall into two categories. For one thing, the delegation of power is inadequate. Only some power of financial management is delegated. The power of making production plans, purchasing materials, allocating wages, adjusting prices and so on has not been delegated. The enterprises still feel shackled and cannot bring their own strength into play. For another thing, there have been some side effects. To increase their own income, some localities put a blockade on the markets, build plants blindly, push out their smaller or weaker counterparts in the processing of raw materials and so on. In particular, many enterprises are not managed by authorities of the same level. Different enterprises are responsible to different higher authorities and they cannot be easily combined. These problems did not arise only after the delegation of financial management power to various levels. In 1956, when the three major reforms of the national economy were accomplished, various enterprises were managed on the basis of districts or according to rules and regulations. Administrative management replaced economic management. Contradictions arose and became more conspicuous when the power of financial management was delegated to various levels. Recently, competition and integration have been advocated. The system of management of enterprises by various levels has become an important obstacle to competition and combination. Socialism must be built on the basis of socialized large-scale production. The management system marked by many rules which break up the enterprises and many local authorities which set up blockades goes against the requirements of socialized large-scale production. It now appears that we must change the management system characterized by many rules and local authorities if our economic management system is to be compatible with socialized large-scale production.

This contradiction has become more conspicuous after the delegation of financial management to various levels, because we practice a system in which the enterprises turn over their profits to the higher authorities and such profits become the principal source of fiscal revenue for the authorities. When financial management was unified, the local authorities did not have great concern for the profits of the enterprises. Since the management has been entrusted to various



levels, they now show great concern. On the one hand, this is an advantage because the government authorities at various levels urge the enterprises to improve their business management and earn more profits. On the other hand, to boost the profits of the enterprises, certain local government organizations unscrupulously hinder competition and integration. To bar the government authorities at various levels from wildly interfering with the normal economic activities of the enterprises, the method of turning over profits to the higher authorities must be replaced by the method of imposing income taxes and other kinds of taxes. Some taxes may be paid to the central authorities, some may be paid to the local authorities, and some may be shared between the central authorities and the local authorities. (Different percentages of the shares must be specified for poor and wealthy localities.) Only this method can prevent the government authorities at various levels from overly interfering in the business activities of enterprises. Moreover, if the revenue of the central authorities and that of the local authorities is clearly divided by means of taxation, financial management can really be divided among various levels. "Replacing profits with taxes" is a radical reform of the financial management system as well as an extremely important reform of the enterprise management system. This must be treated with special care and can be gradually put into practice after success has been obtained at experimental points.

After adopting the "replacement of profits with taxes," the enterprises will no longer need to be directly under the local authorities at various levels and will enjoy relative independence. In the future, who will manage these "independent" enterprises? What will be the methods of management? In the capitalist countries, enterprises are independent, but they are closely or loosely integrated in such organizations as various types of integrated organizations (companies, trusts, syndicates and so on), trade leagues and so on. We must also establish many similar integrated organizations, trade associations and so on to prevent anarchy among the enterprises. Because socialized large-scale production is poorly developed in our country and we lack the relevant experience, we can selectively learn from the capitalist countries. In the future, our enterprises must take the road of unification, and this is a question of direction. In some industries (such as the machine building industry) we must practice coordination among specialized enterprises and establish companies that are fairly closely linked. In some industries (such as the textile industry) the enterprises can be run independently, and we should also establish companies or relatively loosely organized trade associations which will adjust possible contradictions between productive capacity and market demand and which will coordinate the division of labor within the industries. As for foreign trade, in the past it was monopolized by a single corporation, and this has been proved to be incorrect. When certain localities have been permitted to join the international market, several localities might scramble for sales in a single overseas region and cut the prices of their products. This is absolutely wrong. Even products which are selling well will be prone to drastic price cuts if they are exported in huge quantities. They may even become "cutprice goods." Therefore, it is even more necessary to promote integration. This is an urgent problem for us to solve.

The present system of managing the enterprises by means of rules and regulations, entrusting management to various local authorities and dividing the management

among various levels has become an important obstacle to integration. Last year, we made a great effort to organize a motorcar company and a silk fabric company, but without success. The main reason was that the various enterprises which participated in the combined effort were either subordinate to various departments under the party Central Committee and the State Council, or to various provincial authorities, or to various municipal and county authorities. Different enterprises were under different authorities. When they are organized, they become a "company formed by the various authorities" and it is difficult for such a company to exercise unified command. Can we conduct experiments with a relatively simple industry to establish a typical case? For example, we might organize a tobacco company. In old China, there was the British-American Tobacco Company and the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company. They established bases for growing and curing tobacco at Xuchang in Henan, Fangzi in Shandong and Fengyang in Anhui. They themselves produced the raw materials for making cigarettes. They were good examples of combined organizations. In the initial post-liberation period, such organizations were still preserved. When the three major reforms had been accomplished, the economic management of different districts was assigned to different authorities. The cigarette-making plants in Shanghai and Qingdao, as well as the bases of raw material production, were separately managed by different authorities. The tobacco plants in Xuchang, Fangzi and Fengyang were separately managed by a number of provinces, municipalities and counties, which separately set up their own small cigarette-making factories to produce low-grade cigarettes. Because the large cigarette-making factories in Shanghai and Qingdao lacked raw materials, the output of many famous brands of cigarettes dropped, for some brands by over two-thirds. Obviously, this caused enormous waste as well as great losses of state revenue. Can we not take this industry as an experimental point and combine the cigarette-making factories in Shanghai and Qingdao with the tobacco bases in Xuchang, Fangzi and Fengyang, organizing them into a single company? The tobacco bases could stop operating small cigarette-making factories and supply tobacco to the large cigarette-making factories, so that the latter can produce larger quantities of famous brands of cigarettes, earn higher incomes and also distribute a portion of their profits to the tobacco bases. After such integration, the output of famous brands of cigarettes will greatly increase, the profits will also certainly greatly increase and the profits distributed to the tobacco bases might exceed the profits earned by operating small cigarette-making factories. If this experiment is successful, we can sum up the experiences and gradually popularize such integration in other industries.

In integrating enterprises, we must break down the barriers between various localities, between industries (including the barrier between industry and agriculture) and between various enterprises separately under the party Central Committee and the State Council, the provincial authorities, the local authorities, the municipal authorities, the county authorities and the communes. To improve economic results, in the future we must rationalize and readjust the factories in the whole country, including over 300,000 factories owned by the whole people or run by the larger collectives as well as over 1 million factories run by smaller collectives and the communes. We must merge or reorganize factories of the same type according to the principle of coordination among specialized enterprises and establish many specialized companies for joint production or joint marketing. If we do not reform the entire economic structure

(principally industry), we cannot prevent duplication and waste or improve economic results. We must close down, discontinue production at, merge or change the occupation of small factories that have low product quality, high production cost and high materials consumption. We must integrate them into certain large factories or companies. Of course, we should not effect combination in certain industries, in particular many kinds of small handicraft industries. We should let them be separately operated, compete among themselves and bring their own strength into play. Concentration or dispersion--whichever is appropriate--should be applied to different industries. The small factories and industries for which independence in production is appropriate can also organize trade associations which can provide them with the necessary guidance and assistance. Our economy embodies many trades and occupations, and definitely not a small number of them. It is said that there are scores of thousands of trade associations in Japan (most of them regional). Some enterprises join several associations. In short, the organization of socialized large-scale production is quite complex and definitely cannot be simplified.

When this radical reform of the economic structure is accomplished, in the future the enterprises will not be managed by departments, provincial authorities, municipal authorities or county authorities. Many integrated organizations will extend across a number of industries (such as the tobacco company mentioned above) and a single department will not be able to satisfactorily manage the integrated organization. They must be jointly managed by several departments. Many enterprises will be transregional (such as the tobacco company), and a single locality will not be able to manage such an enterprise. Then, should the economic departments under the party Central Committee and various provincial authorities still continue to exist? They should, but they should be fewer in number than at present. Various economic departments (industrial, agricultural or commercial) will not directly manage the enterprises, but they will have to formulate principles, policies and economic legislation as well as coordinate and formulate the overall plans for various enterprises. When necessary, they will implement administrative intervention as instructed by the State Council. The attention of various economic departments will have to shift from microeconomic work (enterprise management) to macroeconomic work. They will have to help insure the planned, proportionate development of the national economy and help insure that the production at and the running of enterprises are compatible with the needs of the state and the people, and that they can achieve the greatest economic results with the minimum consumption of materials. This requires that the cadres in our economic departments understand the objective laws of economic development, possess professional knowledge, be familiar with national economic and market conditions and be able to coordinate and formulate overall plans for various kinds of economic activities. Their responsibilities will be heavier, not lighter.

According to the tentative ideas mentioned above, in the future our economic structure will be characterized neither by the domination of rules and regulations, nor by the rule of various authorities on the basis of districts. It will be in the form of a network formed by many economic centers of various sizes linked with one another. The existing economic centers (Shanghai, Tianjin, Beijing, Guangzhou, Shenyang, Wuhan, Chongqing, Xian and so on) should not limit economic construction to their own districts alone. They should expand outward.



The advanced districts should support the backward ones (by providing equipment, technical personnel, capital and so on). The backward districts should also support the advanced ones (by supplying raw materials and so on). Various types of integrated enterprises should be organized on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Shanghai should bring its superiority in the processing industry into play. Its weakness is the lack of raw materials. Nei Monggol, Xinjiang, Qinghai and other regions must bring their superiority in raw materials production into play. In such regions, there are over a dozen mu or even several times that amount of mountainous land or prairies for each person. This situation has no parallel in such big cities as Shanghai. If the regions that produce raw materials do not fully exploit their superiority of having large tracts of sparsely populated land, and if they do not vigorously develop the production of raw materials but instead use their human and financial resources to develop processing industries, then they will bring their weakness and not their superiority into play. Of course, the current prices of raw materials and processed products are not rational, so that the superiority of the regions that produce raw materials cannot be brought into play. In the future, in addition to price readjustments, the advanced localities can invest in the backward ones in order to develop the production and crude processing of raw materials. The backward localities can also establish joint organizations with the advanced ones by contributing their raw materials and thus share in the profits of the processing industries. In this respect, socialist countries enjoy a very great superiority over capitalist countries.

Lastly, we must say a few words about the relationship between readjustment and reform. Over the past 20 years or more (from 1958 onward), we underestimated the harm of the "left" deviationist line in economic work and underestimated the serious disruption of our economy during the "Great Cultural Revolution" period. For several years after the smashing of the "gang of four," we did not get down to the task of restoring our economy and readjusting the proportional relationships. In 1977, and in particular in 1978, we still wanted to go all out, and consequently the disproportion was aggravated. The 3d Plenary Session [of the 11th CCP Central Committee] opportunely put forward the eight-character principle aimed principally at readjustment, but many comrades in the party Central Committee and in the localities still wanted to continue to go all out. Therefore, in the first 2 years the readjustment was not very effective and there were unprecedented financial deficits. If financial deficits are sustained for several years and price rises are difficult to control, there could be a considerable potential danger. The party Central Committee has resolved to make readjustment the focal task this year. Reforms of the economic management system must be favorable to and subordinate to readjustment and must help eliminate financial deficits, prevent inflation and stabilize market prices. Therefore, for the moment, the pace of reform must be slightly slowed. All reforms that do not affect state finance or market prices must continue to be carried out. Those reforms that affect them must be carried out at a steady pace only after experimentation. Our economic work is now at a new turning point. We must thoroughly rectify the errors of the "left" deviationist line over the past 20 years or more. Many new problems and difficulties will appear in the course of readjustment and reform. We must conscientiously sum up our experiences, both theoretically and in practice, and explore the road to progress.

CSO: 4004

AN INVESTIGATION ON HOW XIADINGJIA PRODUCTION BRIGADE BECAME RICH BY PLANTING TREES AND PRESERVING MOUNTAIN RESOURCES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 23-25

[Investigation report by Liang Xinming [2733 2450 2494] and Wu Haozhi [0702 1170 0037]]

[Text] Editor's note: The Xiadingjia production brigade has placed the work of planting trees within villages and production teams in order to display the initiative of the broad masses of commune members. This mountainous region has changed tremendously over the past two decades and more, during which the production brigade carried out investigations, developed plans and worked tirelessly by relying on commune members. The experiences of this production brigade, which shows that mountainous regions can become rich by planting trees, merits our attention.

A national pacesetter, the Xiadingjia production brigade of the Xiadingjia people's commune, is situated at the foot of the Fenghuang Mountains in the southern part of Huangxian Prefecture, Shandong Province. It is composed of 8 villages and has a total population of 3,129. Within a circumference of 30 li, there are 36 hills, including Fenghuang Mountain. As the mountain is the highest point, people usually call these hills in Xiadingjia village the Fenghuang Mountains. All the hills are now green, and in the spring the flowers of apricot, pear, peach and apple trees contend with each other. In the summer, it becomes a green sea while in autumn, pear, haw and persimmon trees are burdened down with fruit that bring in an income of over 500,000 yuan to the production brigade each year, with an average income of 160 yuan per capita.

I

The production brigade was a poor place during the agricultural cooperative movement. At that time, all the hills were barren and covered with gravel. The fields were subject to drought. Grain output was as low as 100 to 200 jin per mu. Every year, it had to depend on the state for grain. Eager to free themselves from poverty, the cadres and commune members throughout the production brigade put their heads together and agreed that the village was hit by drought in 9 out of 10 years because it lacked water. Thus, they decided to start a water conservancy project. Consequently, they built a number of small reservoirs



and leveled the ground to build terraced fields. Fields which had previously been totally dependent on rain water were turned into irrigated fields. As a result, they increased grain output. But during the next summer the village was hit by floods on two occasions. The reservoirs were silted up and the terraced fields washed away. Water then became their stumbling block. Cadres then carried out investigations. They climbed hills and visited experienced peasants to get advice, and they found the root cause of these calamities. Forests in this region had been seriously damaged and this had led to serious soil erosion throughout the production brigade on an area of 10,614 mu. When there was a heavy rain, water rushed down the hills without any obstruction, eroding as much as 30,621 cubic meters of soil every year. The water also washed away organic fertilizer. This lesson made the cadres and commune members realize that to depend on hills they must first of all preserve hill resources and that the best way to do this was to plant trees on the hills and develop forestry. They realized that this was the basic measure to protect the reservoirs from being silted up and to protect the terraced fields. As an old saying goes: "Water is like a dragon that runs down a hill. To control water at the foot of the hill without controlling it on top of the hill means that all your work will end in failure." The production brigade then shifted its work from solely concentrating efforts on water conservancy as a way to fight drought to combining it with afforestation.

Just as in production, afforestation requires planning. A saying goes: "Even if you now are rich and have enough to eat and wear, it is hard to say that you will never become poor for the rest of your life." The production brigade has over 7,500 mu of hilly land dotted by 36 hills. In addition, the climate and soil on each hill was different. Even on one hill, the climate and soil on the front slope, back slope, at the top, in the middle of the slope and at the foot are not all the same. Therefore, the production brigade's general party branch and branches were first at a loss as to what trees should be planted and where. They discussed this problem with the masses, who told them what to do. The hilly region formerly produced pears, apricots, peaches, haws and persimmons. But, owing to many years of soil erosion, fruit production was seriously hampered. The collective economy was so poor that the production brigade had to rely on loans, even for purchasing horses and waterwheels. The production brigade decided to plant fruit trees as the main way to achieve afforestation and, on this basis, worked out plans for rationally making use of the hills. They planned to afforest the hilltops, which were mainly covered by stones and gravel. In the middle of the slopes and by the sides of ditches, where the soil is fairly thick, they planned to plant fruit trees. At the foot of the hills and on slopes with thick soil, they planned to grow grain and oil-bearing crops. Masson pine trees, locust trees, chaete trees and other trees that can withstand a cold climate were to be planted at the tops of higher hills and in valleys where the atmospheric pressure is lower. Pear, apple, apricot and peach trees were to be planted in valleys that had good soil and were protected from strong winds. Grapevines were to be planted on slopes that received adequate sunshine. Haw and chestnut trees, which are resistant to rain, wind and cold, were to be planted on slopes where there was little sunshine. Owing to the efforts made by the whole production brigade, this plan has been gradually realized.

In order to fully display the initiative of cadres and the masses and to speed up the work of making the village rich by relying on the hills, the production brigade has worked hard to implement its own policies.

First, the production brigade implemented the policy of hill management and the distribution of fruit. The management rights over the hills and fruit trees had been in the hands of the production brigade ever since the founding of the people's commune. In carrying out accounting by production teams, the villages were regarded as management units while the income was also distributed to villages as units. Fruit trees were managed by production teams as units and the income was distributed by the production teams. In 1976, the production brigade became the accounting unit. In order to display the initiative of both the villages and the production teams, the production brigade decided that the hills and fruit trees were not distributed equally among villages and production teams. That is to say, each village still managed the same number of hills and each production team the same number of fruit trees as they did before the production brigade became the accounting unit. All management fees were paid by the production brigade and all income was handed over to the production brigade for exchange of workpoints.

Second, the production brigade implemented the system of production responsibility for specialized jobs and joint jobs with payment to villages, production teams and groups that were responsible for the fruit trees. Specifically, it did the following things:

The production brigade each year allocates 0.24 yuan to the villages for each mu of hilly land as a management fee that also covers the purchasing of insecticides. The villages fell trees each year according to plan, with the income being handed over to the production brigade. The villages obtain 1 workday for each 5 yuan handed in to the production brigade. If the hills are damaged owing to mismanagement, the workpoints of the villages concerned are deducted and the amount of the deduction depended on the degree of damage.

Seventy percent of the young plants grown by the production teams in their nurseries are purchased by the production brigade with prices depending on quality. For example, the price for young Chinese white poplar plants that are 1 meter high is 0.30 yuan each. The remaining 30 percent are disposed of by the production teams. The production brigade also gives workpoints to the production teams for their work in preparing barren land for tree planting. When the trees are sold, this income is also handed over to the production brigade in exchange for workpoints. The production brigade also sets the expenses and workpoints of the groups of the production teams that are responsible for tree management. The net income is exchanged for workpoints.

Third, forestry teams and fruit tree management groups usually plan small loans, small work quotas and small jobs for commune members. The results are then checked and evaluated. They also place the management of the places where there are trees with those commune members who are usually responsible for those places for a period of 1 year. The work is regularly checked and the number of workpoints given depends on the quality of the job.

Fourth, the production brigade has implemented the policy of closing hills. Those who protect forests are awarded and those who damage them are punished. In order to better preserve and develop the hills, some hills have been closed. That is to say, all the trees and grass are kept intact for certain years. Some of the hills are "flexibly closed." This means that the hills are closed in the spring and opened in the autumn so that people can collect wood and cut grass in a planned way. Those who collect wood and cut grass when the hills are closed were subject to punishment.

Owing to the implementation of these policies, the cadres and the masses have worked enthusiastically in planting and protecting trees. Villages have formed forestry teams that are responsible for hill management, while production teams have formed groups that are responsible for fruit tree management. Throughout the production brigade, more than 200 peasants annually take part in taking care of the hills and fruit trees. In addition, all of the production teams organize peasants to plant trees in winter, spring and summer every year in order to speed up afforestation. Last year alone, more than 10,000 Chinese white poplar, elm, locust, Chinese catalpa and parasol trees were planted. More than 100,000 saplings of Chinese white poplar and 5,000 saplings of apricot, haw and peach, as well as grapevines—a total of 145,000 saplings and plants—were planted.

### III

The production brigade has continued to plant trees over the past 2 decades, and 7,125 mu of hilly areas, or 95 percent of the total hilly areas, have been planted with trees. It has planted 1.9 million trees and over 80,000 fruit-bearing trees. On the average there are over 600 trees and 25 fruit-bearing trees per capita. These trees have brought great changes to the production brigade and, as a consequence, there has been an increase in income.

Efforts to deal with soil erosion have increased. The total acreage throughout the production brigade that has been freed from soil erosion has increased to 9,040 mu, 85 percent of the total acreage of previously eroded soil. The amount of soil erosion has been lowered to 10,624 cubic meters per year, 65.2 percent lower than the figure before soil preservation work began. The amount of soil erosion on terraced fields has been lowered to 4,630 cubic meters. Chemical analyses show that the soil in the production brigade contains 0.0007 percent nitrogen. Thus, according to these analyses, following the soil preservation work, in the terraced fields, every year the loss of soil nutrient decreases by an amount equivalent to the nitrogen contained in 44,550 jin of sulfuric ammonia.

The threat of floods has been reduced. In the past when the hills were not yet planted with trees and grass, a heavy rain usually would cause muddy water to rush down the hilly slopes. But now when it rains, fairly clean water runs down the hills at a much lower rate. Formerly a seasonal river, the Yongwen River now has water the year round. Since hills have been planted with trees and grass, the severity of flooding has been drastically reduced. On 30 August 1973, the production brigade was hit by the heaviest rain in more than 3 decades. In 10 hours, it received 144.8 mm of rainfall, but all facilities of the production brigade were safe because the hills had been planted with trees.

The lifespan of farmland capital construction projects has been lengthened. In the past, a heavy rain would often wash away the stone embankments of terraced fields and cause reservoirs to silt up. But such incidents seldom happen now that the hills are covered with trees. As a result, farmland capital construction projects have a longer lifespan. For example, according to a former plan, the "8 March" reservoir would be silted up and have to be abandoned after five decades of service. But, following afforestation work, 80 percent of the acreage on which the water must flow down to the reservoir from the upper reaches are hilly areas covered by grass. Therefore, the amount of silt that comes down to the reservoir has been drastically reduced. In the 18 years from 1959, when the reservoir was built, to 1977, the amount of silt accumulated in the reservoir was only 2,816 cubic meters, 1.86 percent of its capacity. According to this calculation, the reservoir will serve 34 years longer than it was originally planned to serve.

The output of grain and edible oil crops have steadily increased. The improved level of soil preservation has helped reduce natural calamities, improved the efficiency of farmland capital construction projects and developed agricultural production. In the 3 years from 1978 to 1980, the average grain output per mu was increased to 1,918 jin. The total grain output was 3,767,000 jin and the total amount of grain sold to the state was 776,000 jin. The output of peanuts was 445 jin per mu last year, a total of over 250,000 jin, of which 74,800 jin were sold to the state. The income from the sale of grain and edible oil crops to the state was, on average, 70 yuan per capita throughout the production brigade.

Fruit output has also increased. The production brigade produced 300,000 jin of pears annually in the early period of the agricultural cooperatives. But last year it produced 3,119,000 jin of pears, 236,000 jin of apples, 55,000 jin of haws, 20,000 jin of persimmons and 70,000 jin of other fruits. It also produced over 1 million jin of pinewood and 250,000 jin of grass fodder. The production brigade set up a manually operated fruit-drying factory in the early 1960's to produce various preserved fruits that are in strong demand both locally and abroad. The annual income from this trade is more than 60,000 yuan. Last spring, the production brigade invested 10,000 yuan in order to build a semimechanized factory for producing preserved fruits and the number of workers in this field has increased from 40 to over 80. Last year, the production brigade produced 100 tons of preserved fruits, with a net income of more than 80,000 yuan. Of this figure, 48,400 jin were preserved apricots, white kernel peaches, pears and haws grown locally by the production brigade. The net income was 4,000 yuan higher than it was when these fruits were sold unprocessed.

Because the production brigade grows grass, it has set up a fodder base for developing animal husbandry. The income from collectively owned pigs, sheep, oxen and rabbits was over 70,000 yuan last year, 10,000 yuan more than in the previous year.

The commune members are now leading a much improved life. The average income throughout the production brigade last year was 320 yuan. More than 95 percent of the households have bank accounts, with a total deposit in them of over 900,000 yuan. With no worries about food and clothing, the cadres and peasants are leading a happy life.



## HOW TO APPROACH THE QUESTION OF COMMODITY PRICES AT PRESENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 26-27

[Editor's question and answer column]

[Text] 1. Why Have Prices of Some Commodities Gone Up Lately?

From the viewpoint of the relationship between supply and demand, this is because demand is greater than supply. When too much money is available for purchasing things and there are few commodities on the market, there will be buyers even if prices are high; commodity prices will then go up. Why would a situation occur in which commodities are scarce but money is abundant? This is mainly because in the past 2 years the country's expenditure has been greater than its income and so more banknotes have had to be issued. How has it come about that expenditure exceeds income? For many years the national economic proportion was seriously out of balance in that the amount of national income spent on accumulation (mainly for capital construction, especially the construction of heavy industrial projects, which require huge investments and a long construction period) was excessively large while that spent on people's consumption was excessively small; the proportion of heavy industry was too great and that of agriculture and light industry was too small. Over the past 2 years, in order to change this situation and improve the people's daily life, the state has increased the expenditure on people's consumption by raising the purchase prices of farm produce and byproducts, increasing the pay for most of the staff and workers, issuing rewards, building more residential units, increasing labor insurance expenditures and so on. It is entirely necessary and correct to do so. Since the expenditure on consumption had been increased, the money spent on accumulation should have been correspondingly cut down by reducing the scale of capital construction and cutting down heavy industry's long-term production targets so that agriculture and light industry could develop more rapidly. However, owing to the many years of the influence of "leftist" thinking in economic work, the progress made in readjusting the national economy has not been great, the accumulation has not been reduced and the overall scope of capital construction is still expanding. Readjustment of the proportions between heavy industry and agriculture or light industry has also not reached the anticipated level. The country's expenditure has thus exceeded its income and the balance of payments has gone into the red.

It has been stipulated by the state that for some commodities, such as category 3 farm produce and byproducts and part of the category 3 industrial products for daily use (small commodities), prices can be negotiated through consultation

according to the situation of supply and demand in the market. Correct implementation of this policy would be beneficial to promoting production, revitalizing the market and making life convenient for the people. However, many localities, departments and units have violated the state stipulations by expanding the limits of price negotiation. Some localities have illegally carried out negotiations on purchasing and selling prices under the condition of not having fulfilled the purchase, transfer and allocation programs assigned by the state. Some units, without permission, have gone to the area of production to make purchases by offering a higher price, thus disrupting the state's purchase program. These wrongdoings have caused the prices of some commodities to rise owing to supply falling short of demand.

Also, there are some units in enterprises and undertakings that try to increase earnings, rewards and material benefits by raising commodity prices and the criteria for collecting service charges rather than by trying to improve management and administration, reduce costs, improve product quality and services and so on. This is the direct cause of the rise in prices of some commodities and charges for certain services, or their rise in a disguised form, owing to supply falling short of demand.

## 2. How Does the Rise of Commodity Prices Affect the Life of People?

At present, the listed retail prices of basic foodstuffs and most industrial products for daily use are stable. These commodities make up the major portion of the total retail volume of social commodities and also constitute the major portion of the necessities for people's daily life. The price stability of these commodities safeguards the stability of the people's life. However, the rise in prices of many other commodities relating to the people's life has affected the livelihood of people in such a way that the benefits brought to many families by the increase in wages over the past few years have been tarnished and the actual living standard of some families has declined.

During the years since 1977, the average number of family members supported by each staff member and worker has decreased as a result of the large increase in employment; also, since the basic wages and earnings of most staff members and workers have increased and many enterprises have issued rewards on top of various allowances, the average wage per capita in most workers' families has increased. Part of the increase, however, has been offset by the increase in commodity prices. Now, working out the grand total, we still find the average per-capita wage increase in worker families to be higher than the increase in commodity prices; therefore, the actual living standard has gone up after all and the real earnings of most peasants have also increased. This has been confirmed by a survey on the income and expenditure of worker and peasant families in various places. The large increase in the total savings of urban and rural residents and the change in the sales structure of consumer products (among the sales of commodities for eating, wearing and daily use, the proportion of foodstuffs has dropped while that of clothing and articles for daily use has increased; the volume of sales for high- and medium-grade commodities has increased in proportion) also explain this overall situation. However, for those families whose working members (mainly part of the staff members and workers of cultural and educational departments, public health departments, scientific and technological

departments as well as party and government organizations) did not get any wage increase or promotion in rank, nor did they obtain any rewards or increase in number, their real earnings have decreased as a result of the rise in commodity prices.

### 3. How Are Commodity Prices To Be Stabilized?

At present, it is first necessary to conscientiously and thoroughly carry out the "notice on strictly keeping commodity prices under control and rectifying negotiated prices" promulgated by the State Council in December 1980. The "notice" stipulates a series of measures for immediate implementation in the light of such existing practices as expanding the limits of price negotiation at will, raising prices as one pleases, raising prices in disguised form, driving up negotiated prices and so on. This is of great significance in stabilizing commodity prices, maintaining the stability of the people's livelihood and safeguarding the smooth progress of the cause of socialist construction. The ruling bodies of every province, municipality and autonomous region throughout the country are taking concrete measures to put into practice the State Council notice. Among the measures being taken is organizing the masses to check and monitor commodity prices.

Fundamentally speaking, in order to halt the rising trend in commodity prices so that prices are basically stable, it is essential to keep doing a good job of readjusting the national economy so as to achieve a balance of financial revenue and expenditure as well as to maintain the equilibrium between social purchasing power and commodity supply. This requires that the state's planned readjustment and administrative intervention be strengthened so as to reduce in a down-to-earth manner the existing scale of capital construction, which has already far exceeded the country's financial and material capabilities. It is necessary to wind up, stop, merge or switch the work of those enterprises which carry out construction blindly, carry out duplicate construction of projects or allow the small to squeeze out the large, the backward to squeeze out the advanced, and new factories to squeeze out old factories; to vigorously save other state expenses; to rigorously enforce financial and economic discipline; and to reduce waste. At the same time, it is necessary to vigorously develop agriculture and light industry, and make an effort to provide the market with more commodities that satisfy the people's needs and provide the state with more revenue. It is necessary to carry out extensively and profoundly the campaign for boosting production and practicing thrift, improve administration and management, reduce waste, lower costs, improve product quality and raise production efficiency. In this way, by taking simultaneous actions both in broadening the sources of income and reducing expenditure, greater economic results will be achieved with less expenditure. The national economic plan this year has readjustment as its central task. If only the whole country wholeheartedly strives hard to do the work of readjustment well, successfully carries out this year's economic plan and strives to achieve a balance of financial revenue and expenditure, then there will be a reliable guarantee that commodity prices will basically be stabilized step by step.

## ADVANCE AND RETREAT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 28-30

[Article by Lu Ding [7627 0002]]

[Text] Our country is now undergoing readjustment and reform. It has to resolutely shorten the overextended battlefront of capital construction and change the political and economic systems which hinder and are incompatible with the development of the productive forces. To achieve this end, it will, among other things, have to restore some systems and forms which have been wrongly called off and to adopt some measures and methods which have been wrongly criticized. This is a major decision made by the party Central Committee and the State Council in light of realities. This decision is warmly supported by the masses of people. However, a few people doubt and resent it. Some call it a retreat, some even regard it as a "restoration," and so forth. These views seriously hinder unification in thinking and action. Readjustment and reform cannot be carried out smoothly without clarifying this major decision.

Materialist dialectics tells us that the development of all things takes a tortuous path and not a straight path. That is, the general trend of development is to advance, although retreat is sometimes necessary in the course of advance. Figuratively, the development takes the form of a spiral and proceeds by waves. This is also true of the course of development of revolution and construction, where it is necessary to advance or retreat, to step forward or step back, depending on the complex situation. It is metaphysical to think that revolution and construction develop straightforwardly, smoothly and without detours. This thinking is incompatible with the development of the actual situation. Practice shows that retreat and advance are not diametrically opposed to each other and that a retreat or a step backward is sometimes required as a part of the zigzag course of development and is not a bad thing. A revolutionary should know when to advance or retreat and should be good at doing so in the course of revolution and construction.

After the October Revolution, Russia under Lenin's leadership signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany. What was the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk about? Lenin said: The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk is by no means a revolutionary action but a reform. It is even worse than a reform because it is a "regressive action." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 576) Was this "regressive action" a bad thing? No, it was a very good thing. This "regressive action" gave Russia, which was already in a state of exhaustion, "an opportunity to regain its breath,"



so that Russia could consolidate the proletarian regime, maintain the proletarian leadership over the peasants, readjust its economy, build its Red Army to defeat the White Army and the foreign armed meddlers and stand rock-firm. If this "regressive action" had not been taken, that is, if the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had been rejected, as the "left wing communists" suggested, the newborn Soviet republic could have been strangled in its cradle by the German bandits.

In 1921, Lenin and the Russian Communist Party suggested and carried out a new economic policy and changed from the system of collecting surplus grain to the system of collecting grain tax. What was the essence of this new economic policy? It was a kind of retreat. According to the new economic policy, capitalism was allowed to exist and develop under given conditions and within certain limits instead of being completely wiped out; that is, the revolutionary method was changed into the reform method. Was this not a retreat? Yes, it was. But, this retreat was entirely necessary in Russia at that time. As Lenin said: "The direct transition to a purely socialist form of economy, to purely socialist distribution, is beyond our strength; and if we are unable to effect a retreat..., we are doomed." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 661) This new economic policy, which was a retreat, saved the newborn Soviet Government. That is, by correcting the mistake of continuing to carry out wartime communism during the period of peace and construction, the Soviet Government enlivened the rural economy, improved the livelihood of the people in cities and the countryside, consolidated the worker-peasant alliance and advanced readily toward communism.

Similar examples were also numerous in the history of the Chinese revolution. We effected a strategic retreat after suffering a defeat in the 1927 revolution. During the period of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, we actively changed the revolutionary policy of confiscating the landlords' landed property into the reform policy of reducing rent for land, interest on loans, and so forth. We do not want to go into details of these examples. Let us just talk about the situation after the founding of new China. During the periods of economic rehabilitation and of the First Five-Year Plan, we won great victories in developing various projects and effecting socialist reforms because we persisted in acting according to objective laws. In the face of victory, however, we became conceited and careless and had a fit of petty-bourgeois fever. During the Great Leap Forward and the movement to establish people's communes in 1958, we neglected economic and natural laws and indulged in the tendency to effect communism prematurely, the work style characterized by exaggeration and the practice of giving blind directions. As a result, the productive forces in the countryside were seriously damaged, grain output decreased and economic life became very difficult. In the face of grim facts, we suffered many setbacks. We resolutely took measures to readjust and curtail the people's communes and practiced three-level ownership with the production team as the basic accounting unit. This new system of ownership not only lagged behind the accounting system adopted by the people's communes at that time, but also behind the accounting system adopted by many localities at the time of advanced agricultural cooperatives. We also called off the supply system and the messhalls, restored the ownership of plots for private use, allowed the running of household sideline production, and so forth. Precisely for this reason, we quickly regained the initiative and gradually restored and developed the rural productive forces. As a result, the whole national economy was enlivened and flourished.

The history of revolutions in China and elsewhere shows that it is wrong not to make an advance or launch an attack when the time comes for an advance or attack and, likewise, it is wrong not to fall back or sound a retreat when the time comes for doing so. It is necessary to fall back or retreat in the course of a revolution chiefly for the following reasons: 1) When a revolutionary party and the revolutionary people meet an overwhelming enemy force or a tremendous difficulty and suffer a defeat, they often fall back or retreat in order to preserve their strength and to counter the threat to their existence, and any talk of development and advance is out of the question. 2) When a revolutionary party has subjectively made the mistakes of being impetuous and rash, exceeds objective possibility and undertakes a task above its capability, it must retreat. Otherwise it will sink deeper and deeper in a quagmire and will never be able to extricate itself. 3) In the course of revolution, because of the change in environment and conditions, it is sometimes necessary to turn a revolutionary policy into a reform policy and to substitute moderate measures for radical ones. These reasons are often inevitable.

In the course of revolution, the revolutionaries do not want to fall back or sound a retreat but take falling back and retreating as a strategic or tactical step to be adopted in providing conditions for a further advance. Lenin said: Retreat "in order to make a more vigorous leap forward." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 597) Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "Retreat in order to advance." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 180) It is wrong and it is not a revolutionary act to fall back or to retreat unless it is for the purpose of making a better advance. That is, unless it is taken as a link in the revolutionary course. This is the reason why there should be a limit to any step back or retreat. For the same reason, a revolutionary's step back or retreat in given conditions is completely different from the reactionaries' perverse deeds against historical laws. Determined by their nature, all reactionaries invariably try to impede the advance of history. They take a step back or retreat as the goal. Yuan Shikai restored the imperial system after the revolution of 1911; Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the country, launched a civil war and exercised dictatorship after the victory of the war of resistance against Japan; the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques attempted to turn socialism into feudal fascism--these were typical examples. Revolutionaries firmly oppose this kind of retreat. If some people disregard the truth and describe the revolutionaries' step back and retreat under given conditions as forsaking principles and pushing back the wheel of history, they are either harboring an ulterior motive or are politically muddleheaded or ignorant.

The history of revolutions in China and elsewhere also tells us that, in a certain sense, it is more difficult to step back or retreat than to advance or launch an attack. As far as the spirit is concerned, when people advance or launch an attack, they can easily keep up their fervor; when they step back or retreat, they tend to be demoralized, disheartened and depressed. Therefore, in stepping back or retreating, it is even more necessary to maintain revolutionary steadiness, to be in high spirits, to consciously observe discipline, and so forth. Many revolutionaries in the past proved themselves heroes and fighters during an advance or attack but became passive and despondent and even deserted when they were required to step back or retreat. This shows that it is not easy for a revolutionary to learn to take a correct approach to the question of stepping back and retreating.

In short, a revolutionary should organically combine stepping forward with stepping back and advance with retreat and promptly step forward and advance or step back and retreat in accordance with the law of development of the revolution and in light of the actual situation. Only in this way will it be possible to insure that the revolution will finally triumph. This is a superb art of leadership which any revolutionary should make strenuous efforts to learn and master.

Once we have clarified the general principles about the step back and retreat which are sometimes required in the course of revolution, we can easily see how we should correctly understand and handle the current question of readjustment and reform. Below, we shall discuss the question of readjustment in the same manner.

Why do we have to make readjustments? Why do we have to curtail the overextended battleline of capital construction? It must be said that these questions have been raised by actual life and have not been prompted by a sudden impulse. Because we have long been overanxious for quick results, serious disproportion has been created in the national economy. The crux of the problem is that the accumulation is too big and the battleline of capital construction is overextended. Our capital construction is now run on a scale far exceeding our country's financial and material power. This not only cannot quicken economic development but also has hindered production and impaired the people's livelihood and cultural and educational undertakings. If the scale of capital construction is not reduced by a big margin and if the projects which cannot be developed under the present conditions are not stopped firmly and unhesitatingly, the national economy cannot develop systematically, proportionately and healthily. Certainly, this is a kind of retreat (it is a partial retreat if the whole national economy is taken into consideration). Since we have gone too far in this aspect, what else can we do except resolutely sound a retreat? We not only have to retreat but also have to retreat sufficiently so that we can act realistically and according to our capability, and arrange capital construction in light of our country's financial and material power at present. Only in this way can we spare forces to strengthen current production and cultural and educational undertakings and solve the questions regarding people's livelihood which urgently need to be solved. At the same time, only in this way will it be possible to complete capital construction projects on schedule, satisfy the specifications regarding quality and quantity and eliminate the "unfinished projects." In short, only in this way can we insure economic stability and social order, stand firmly and start again to steadily march forward. This kind of "retreat" is definitely not a passive policy but a positive measure.

There are two kinds of people who describe our readjustment and reform as a passive "retreat" and even as a "restoration." The first kind are followers of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. This is quite natural. Under this pretext, they viciously attack the party's current policies, thereby showing their firm reactionary stand. We should recognize their features clearly and prevent them from stirring up trouble and confusing people's thinking. The other kind are our comrades. They have not yet emancipated their minds and cannot judge the actual situation soberly and cool-headedly. However, we can easily solve the question concerning these comrades' thinking as long as we present facts openly and make things clear through reasoning and the calm exchange of opinions.

When Russia enforced its new economic policy, Lenin repeatedly and emphatically pointed out: "Retreat is a difficult matter, especially for revolutionaries who are accustomed to advance." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 629) We now have a similarly difficult problem. For more than 20 years, leftist ideas and the leftist line have developed from germination to formation and are becoming more and more influential. They have conquered many people ranging from the top to the bottom levels and become an obstinate force of habit. Without thoroughly wiping out this force of habit, it is impossible to carry out readjustment and reform smoothly and well. We are confronted with tasks and hardships. Let us strive to emancipate ourselves from the fetters of leftist ideas and the leftist line, correctly approach and handle the relationship between advance and retreat and work concertedly to carry out the work of readjustment properly.

CSO: 4004



## THE VITALITY OF MARXISM LIES IN PRACTICE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 31-33

[Study notes by Shi Shuizhou [2457 3055 3166], Li Jianx [2621 1696 2450] and Ding Dishu [0002 0966 2885]]

[Text] Marxist theory is a product of the practice of revolutionary struggle. It comes from practice and goes back to practice. It is tested by practice but it guides practice. Social practice continuously provides new facts and new experience to further enrich, develop and perfect Marxist theory. Advancing on the new Long March toward the grand goal of the four modernizations, we find it very inspiring and instructive, in applying Marxist theory, to learn from revolutionary teachers their scientific attitude in upholding the viewpoint of practice.

Looking through the great works of the proletarian teachers, we find that upholding the integration of theory with practice was the basic principle they followed all their lives.

In a speech in 1872 concerning the means of seizing political power by the working class, Marx pointed out that violent revolution was a universal law of the proletarian revolution, with the possible exception of some countries like the United States, England and Holland where "the workers can possibly employ peaceful means to attain their goal." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 18, p 179) In 1886, based on the new situation, Engels pointed out that Marx' view that some countries might be exceptions could no longer be applied to Holland. "At least in Europe, England is the only country which can realize the inevitable social revolution entirely through peaceful and legal means." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 37) In 1917, Lenin made a further analysis of the social situation at that time and concluded that even England was not an exception. That was because when Marx and Engels suggested that the working class of England could employ "peaceful and legal means" to seize political power, "England was still a typical example of a pure capitalist country which had no warlord system yet and on the whole had no bureaucratic system." However, in the era of imperialism, such conditions no longer existed. "England and the United States, the two representatives of the world's largest and last Anglo-Saxon 'free system' (in the sense of having no warlord system and bureaucratic system), have completely rolled into the dirty, sanguinary muddy pool of bureaucratic military organs of the usual European type which dominate everything and oppress everything." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 25, pp 402-403) Lenin did not stop at

Marx' and Engels' conclusion concerning the exception of some countries, but made a correct conclusion by seeking truth from facts and according to the changed objective reality.

It can thus be seen that many basic viewpoints of Marxism, immediately after being proposed, were not so perfect and faultless, much less were they ultimate truths which could foresee everything. That Marxist theory has developed to such a rich degree today is entirely the result of continuous supplementation and development proceeding from objective reality.

In getting to know things, the revolutionary teachers of the proletariat also followed the laws of cognition common to mankind. They also experienced the process of cognition from a lower level to a higher level, from part to whole and from appearance to essence. They respected practice and were not prejudiced. If any part of the theory they established was out of date, they would abandon it and if the whole theory was out of date, they would abandon the whole.

In the "Outline of Criticism of Political Economics" written by Engels in his early years, he criticized the political economy of the bourgeoisie and utopian socialism, which played an important role in Marx' study of political economics at that time. However, this article did not give a sufficiently profound revelation of the free competition and periodic economic crises of capitalism and did not completely break away from the influence of utopian socialism. In 1871, when Liebknecht suggested publishing the work again in newspapers, Engels at once told him: "This article is completely out of date and there are many places in it which are not exact. It will only give rise to confusion among readers." And he held that "it would never do" to publish the article again in newspapers. ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 33, p 209) In 1842, he spent 21 months on investigation and wrote "State of Affairs of the Working Class in England." In this work he used a large number of facts to expose the crimes of capitalism in England and pointed out that the development of the productive forces of capitalism would certainly sharpen the antagonism between the poor and the rich, sharpen class contradictions and lead to social revolution. But because capitalism in England at that time was still in the developing stage and class contradictions had not yet become white-hot, he wrote in this work: "Communism is not merely a doctrine of political parties and groups of the working class but a kind of theory the aim of which is to liberate the whole society, including the capitalist class, from the existing narrow scope." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 316) After the "Communist Manifesto" came out, the working class in different countries in Europe appeared on the stage of history and the tide of revolution rolled on with full force. Revolutionary practice, especially the practice of the Paris Commune, showed Engels that the liberation of the proletariat meant the doom of the bourgeoisie and it was obvious that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat could not work together to smash the production relations of capitalism. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie was bound to use the political power in their hands to oppose in a thousand and one ways the liberation of the working class. Consequently, when Engels wrote the foreword to the English edition of this work in 1892, he corrected the viewpoint of a common liberation. He said: "In the abstract sense, this conclusion is correct, but in practice, it is absolutely no good and sometimes even worse. Since the propertied classes do not feel any need for liberation, and in addition, they oppose with all their might the

self-liberation of the working class, the working class should, therefore, independently prepare and realize social revolution." (Ibid.) What a strict scientific attitude this was!

In February 1917, the new storm of revolution in Russia blew away the crown of Nicholas II, giving rise to a situation in which two regimes, the bourgeois provisional government and the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, existed simultaneously. In light of the situation at that time, Lenin pointed out: The task of the Bolsheviks in this period is "to explain to the masses that: The Soviet of Workers' Deputies is the only possible form of a revolutionary government. Therefore, while this government is still influenced by the bourgeoisie, our task can only be to reveal its strategic errors patiently, frequently, persistently and especially according to the actual needs of the masses." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 15) So the slogan of "All power to the Soviet" was put forward and the Bolsheviks' policy of developing the revolution peacefully was determined. But, not long after, the bourgeois provisional government launched a desperate counterattack on the working class. The Soviet controlled by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionary Party became an appendage of the provisional government and all political power passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie. In accordance with the sudden change in the situation, Lenin promptly pointed out: "The road of peaceful development will no longer work. We have started on the nonpeaceful and most bitter road." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 109) Afterward, the Bolsheviks secretly held their sixth congress and decided on a policy of armed uprising. In talking about the slogan "All power to the Soviet," Lenin said: "This slogan was correct yesterday, but it is of no significance at all today. Abrupt turns in history come about so 'suddenly,' and similarly these slogans also 'suddenly' lose their significance." (Ibid., p 107)

The revolutionary teachers of the proletariat were dialectical materialists. They despised any attempt to establish ultimate truth. They never looked upon revolutionary theory as dogma, but looked upon it as a continuously developing scientific system. Engels once said: "Our theory is a developing theory and not a dogma which must be recited thoroughly and repeated mechanically." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 460)

In February 1917, before the second revolution in Russia, Marxists in different countries all considered that a democratic republic with a parliamentary system was the most suitable form of political organization in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. However, the revolution in February 1917 greatly changed the situation. The Russian workers rose up in strikes and the army quickly came over to the workers' side. Because the soldiers in the army at that time were mainly peasants conscripted for the war, they, like workers, had a bitter hatred for the tsar's oppression. Within a short time, political strikes began to turn into political demonstrations against the tsarist system. The working class became the revolutionary vanguard, leading millions of peasants in army uniforms in the movement "to strive for peace, to strive for bread and to strive for freedom." The rebellious workers and soldiers set up the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which was a new form of political organization in society. Based on the study of the experience of the two Russian revolutions, Lenin drew the conclusion that the best political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat was not the system of a parliamentary democratic republic but

that of a Soviet republic. In accordance with this, in April 1917, Lenin proposed the slogan that setting up a Soviet republic was the best political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin did not superstitiously and blindly follow each and every conclusion of Marx' and Engels' but enriched and developed the theory of Marxism with new experience.

Comrade Mao Zedong integrated the universal truth of Marxism with the objective practice of the Chinese revolution. He considered that, in our semifeudal and semicolonial old China, internally there was no democratic system and externally there was no national independence. Therefore, there was no parliament to make use of and there was no legal right for organizing workers to strike. "The task of the Communist Party here is basically not to proceed from long-term struggles to uprisings and wars, nor is it to capture cities first and then to capture rural areas, but to take the opposite road." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 507) That is, "to build up strength in the countryside and to encircle the cities from the countryside and lastly to capture the cities." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," pp 1364-1365) Although this new conclusion of Comrade Mao Zedong's "took the opposite road," it further enriched and developed Marxist theory concerning violent revolution by the proletariat and, under its guidance, the Chinese revolution won a great victory.

People who take a dogmatic attitude toward the theory of Marxism belong to different categories. Some of them swallow the words and sentences of Marxism raw and whole and do not know how to integrate theory with practice because they are divorced from reality. Others distort and misrepresent Marxism for ulterior political motives and under the disguise of safeguarding Marxism. The latter have a strongly fraudulent nature and are extremely harmful to the revolutionary cause. Shortly after Lenin passed away, Zinoviev and his ilk, under the pretext of safeguarding the banner of Lenin, hypocritically extolled Lenin as "the highest summit" of men's spiritual strength, and asserted that none of the expositions of revolutionary teachers could be changed irrespective of developments and changes in objective circumstances as, otherwise, it was "revisionism." Stalin sharply denounced this and pointed out: "In the eyes of Zinoviev, anyone who makes the old formulas or a certain tenet of Marx' or Engels' more perfect or more precise, especially if he replaces them with formulas suitable for new circumstances, is a revisionist." This can only "cause the inevitable stagnation of Marxist thinking under the threat of charges of revisionism." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 9, pp 86-87) Zinoviev and his ilk replaced the basic theory of Marxism with one or two formulas and tenets of Marxism. They were distorting and misrepresenting Marxism.

Revolutionary practice vividly shows that Marxism is a developing science. It springs from practice, guides practice and is tested in practice. Its vitality lies in practice. Only if we proceed in all cases from reality and seek truth from facts and combine theory with practice, and take practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, can we enrich and develop Marxism. The kind of thinking that holds that whatever is written in books cannot be changed and whatever is not written in books cannot be spoken or done is anti-Marxist thinking, and is a great hindrance to the implementation of the party's political and ideological line.

CSO: 4004



A SINISTER CONSPIRATOR WHO BUTCHERED AND PERSECUTED THE LOYAL AND INNOCENT--  
EXPOSING KANG SHENG'S FEATURES OF A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY DOUBLEDEALER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 34-37

[Article by Yang Xianzhen (2799 3759 3791)]

[Text] In the wake of the movement to expose, criticize and investigate following the downfall of the "gang of four," and especially since the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques have been put on trial by the Supreme People's Court, Kang Sheng, this saboteur of the state, hidden traitor within the party and enemy of the people, who held important posts time and again in the past and who was "lucky when alive but notorious after death," will be condemned throughout the ages. By his criminal career, he proved himself to the Chinese people and to posterity to be a dirty political crystallization of "playing politics, making trouble, butchering and persecuting the loyal and innocent, being wicked and evil-hearted, and being sinister all his life" ("The History of the Ming": "Biographies of Treacherous Court Officials"), and a product of all the political conduct and trickery of the treacherous court officials, eunuchs and crafty sycophants in China's historical dynasties, who brought calamity to the country and the people. Of course, one can also find within this person, more or less, something modern of a domestic and foreign mixture--the nature of a counter-revolutionary two-faced political gambler similar to Chiang Kai-shek and Hitler.

Using the things he had actually said and did, this article will expose his political behavior from one aspect, that is, from one of the crimes he committed--that of disrupting the Central Party School. I accuse him of this crime as well as that of humiliating, framing and persecuting comrades, some of whom are still alive and others who are now dead who had worked or have been working with me for years.

Kang Sheng meddled in the affairs of the Central Party School in 1957 through his wife Cao Yi'ou, who was working there at that time. A short time later, he got control of the school on behalf of the Central Committee and committed a series of counterrevolutionary deeds.

"To study theory and integrate it with practice, to deepen understanding and enhance party spirit"--this is the educational policy of the Central Party School approved by the party Central Committee. It follows the principle of integrating the universal truths of Marxism with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution, a principle which was recommended by Comrade Mao Zedong, and

continues the tradition of the Central Party School and the Marxist-Leninist institution in Yanan, and has, for many years, been proved to be an effective policy in the practice of strengthening the party's theoretical system and in the practice of cadre education. But when this policy was in Kang Sheng's hands, it became a "rare commodity" to be "hoarded." On 22 August 1957, at a report meeting for teachers of Marxism-Leninism in Beijing, he said: "We hold that the 16-character policy is also applicable for political education in middle schools and institutions." On 25 December in the same year, when talking about the 16-character policy in his speech at a forum of 11 provinces and cities on theoretical educational work, he said: "It is not only an educational policy, but also a policy governing all the work of the party." The common characteristic of these two speeches is that he not only regarded the 16-character policy as the educational policy of the Central Party School but also expanded it to include all "theoretical educational work." The reason I quote here what Kang Sheng said is that, since I have escaped from death, I was lucky enough to see a report made to the Central Committee on 10 March 1969 which was written under the personal direction of Kang Sheng. This report clearly states: "In the last 10 days of December 1957, Comrade Kang Sheng pointed out at the forum of 11 provinces and cities on theoretical teaching that there was a lack of class nature in the 16-character policy and severely questioned Yang Xianzhen, ... and made a severe criticism of the reactionary 16-character policy." It also clearly stated: "On 28 October 1958, at the forum on party school work, Comrades Chen Boda and Kang Sheng announced, on behalf of the proletarian headquarters, the abolition of the 16-character policy." Now, investigation reveals that there was never any "forum of 11 provinces and cities on theoretical teaching" held in December 1957, but a forum of 11 provinces and cities on theoretical educational work. It was at this forum that Kang Sheng made a speech praising the 16-character policy. Neither did he announce, together with Chen Boda, the abolition of the 16-character policy at the forum on party school work held on 28 December 1958. What is more ridiculous, on the very day of the said month and year, Kang Sheng was conducting an inspection in Anhui Province. Obviously it was impossible for him to divide himself in two and appear at the same time in both Beijing and Anhui. What a dirty trick this adviser to the "Cultural Revolution" played by offering such false information to the Central Committee in order to practice a gross deception.

No matter what positions they had, either important officials or eunuchs and crafty sycophants, the attitude toward principles and policies of all treacherous court officials in China's history is exactly the same as that of gamblers staking black and red chips in a gambling house. Their knack lies in only two words: "accurate" and "fearless." "Accurate" means to be accurate in staking, and "fearless" means the courage to stake everything on a single throw. Although there were a few of these political gamblers who really advanced rapidly in their careers by this "two-word knack," there were still some others who failed and lost all. The cunning Li Linfu of the Tang dynasty was one of those who failed; his mistake was in creating a prince. Wang Zhen of the Ming dynasty, a eunuch notorious for "his cunning and his flattering of the emperor," and head of the special agents, lost his head because of an inaccurate gamble in "conquering the Mongolians." In modern terms, their common characteristic was metaphysical; they regarded the political situation as static and unchangeable--hence their failure. In practice, Kang Sheng was smarter than Li Linfu and Wang Zhen.

While betting on the "red" chip, at the same time, he would also bet on the "black." Thus, he was able to ride with the current and stir up trouble.

Let's see: at the end of 1959, the spearhead of the "antiright deviation" movement in the Central Party School guided by Kang Sheng was, from the very beginning, pointed at me. This was not only because of the fact that I along with others had criticized the "communist wind" and "transition through poverty" and had thus offended Kang Sheng, the "theorist" in stirring up the "communist wind" and "transition through poverty," but also because of the fact that we had disagreed in our work with this superior. Kang Sheng's interest in big gambling was especially aroused when the party Central Committee assigned the task of helping Comrade Peng Dehuai in theory study to the party committee of the Central Party School. He meant to again hit Comrade Peng Dehuai when he was already half-down, while at the same time striking down those comrades who had criticized the "communist wind" and "transition through poverty." At a criticism meeting, his wife Cao Yi'ou said, "On the question of anti-three red banners," Yang Xianzhen and General Peng, "one literary and the other military, were supporting each other with one on top of the hill and the other at its foot." General Peng was the "right opportunist" on the Lushan hill while Yang Xianzhen, the "right opportunist," at its foot. The military one was "anti-three red banners" on the hill while the literary one, "anti-three red banners" at the foot. It can be seen what a ready tongue she had!

In 1959, I was not only struggled against in the Central Party School, but, in addition, there was a social "criticism of the reactionary theory" of "there being no identity of existence and thinking." Some old articles of mine concerning my viewpoint on the "identity of existence and thinking" were republished last year, and comrades interested in this question may use them for reference. There is only one point here that needs explanation, that is, it was no one else but Kang Sheng himself who was the inventor of the charge that "Yang Xianzhen said there is no identity of existence and thinking." In December 1958, in order to refute (Rosenthal's) explanation of "identity" in "A Concise Dictionary of Philosophy," which attacked Comrade Mao Zedong's principle of the identity of contradictions stated in "On Contradiction," and being appointed by Chen Boda the editor in chief of RED FLAG at that time, I wrote an article entitled "On the Identity of Two Categories." In this article I wrote that although the word "identity" was used in reference to the "identity of thinking and existence" and the "identity of contradictions," the meaning varied according to the context. The former meant the same thing as what had been criticized by Lenin in his referring to Berkeley's "object and sensation being in fact the same thing." The latter belonged to the category of dialectics, which meant the connection and identity of things. (Rosenthal) did not at all understand the principle of the identity of contradictions, but distorted and attacked Comrade Mao Zedong's principle of the "identity of contradictions" by copying the "identity" Hegel expounded on concerning the identity of thinking and existence. Copies of the completed manuscript of this article were sent separately to Chen Boda and Kang Sheng. Unexpectedly, when this article was in Kang Sheng's hands, a marvel in the history of philosophy was created. Having a brainstorm and with an ulterior motive, he interpreted what I had said about "the identity of thinking and existence being idealistic" to mean that Yang Xianzhen had said that "there is no identity of thinking and existence." He seized the opportunity when Comrade

Mao Zedong was swimming to ask: "Is there the identity of thinking and existence?" According to the principle of the identity of contradictions, Comrade Mao Zedong replied: "There is the identity of thinking and existence." From then on, a rumor was spread in theoretical circles by Kang Sheng that "Yang Xianzhen says there is no identity of thinking and existence."

It is recorded in "The History of the Ming" that there were two treacherous court officials. One was Wei Zhongxian, head of the eunuchs, and the other was Yan Song. It was through the criticism of "Yang Xianzhen's reactionary philosophy of there being no identity of thinking and existence" carried out from 1959 to 1961 that I came to understand that Kang Sheng was even more skillful at making unjust prisons and persecuting the innocent than his ancestor Yan Song. By asking questions, he "slyly got the imperial decree" and left for himself enough room to maneuver until he had a definite answer, and then skillfully combined his flattery and slander. In this way, he charged me with the crime of running counter to Comrade Mao Zedong's principle of the identity of contradictions, and, putting on his head the laurel wreath of defending this principle, became a commander on the philosophy front who "commanded the royal forces and took punitive actions at God's will."

It is unacceptable for historians to establish a theory merely on the basis of one shred of evidence. I would like to quote here a paragraph from Kang Sheng's criticism of "Hai Rui Dismissed From Office." At the enlarged meetings of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held on 25 April and 5 May 1966, he said: "I told the chairman in 1964 that 'Hai Rui Dismissed From Office' by Wu Han had some connection with the Lushan meeting and Peng Dehuai. I have never told any other person about this, because when we have said or done something right, it is not necessary to show off, neither does it prove that we have fully understood Mao Zedong Thought. ...When talking with the chairman about the question of Wu Han, I did not realize that it was the struggle of the Great Cultural Revolution and the struggle against the antiparty and antisocialist elements. I have also not told Peng Zhen about this matter. However, on hearing about it, Marshal Lin [Biao] took it as a question of a coup d'etat. He has a much deeper understanding for the chairman's thought." Though only a few words, it is clear from them that he intended to flatter Lin Biao and frame Peng Zhen as well as boast about himself, a boast befitting his status, with the flattery just appropriate for his purpose and the framing being sufficiently penetrating.

A number of new educational policies were put forward after the "antiright deviation" movement in the Central Party School guided by Kang Sheng, such as, "theory must serve contemporary politics," "learn while fighting and fight while learning" and "use Mao Zedong Thought as the guide in studying Marxism-Leninism," and so on and so forth. None of the "new products" in theory being produced in accordance with these new policies could escape being stamped with Lin's trademark.

The first product was "the shortcut incident." In correcting a student's article, a Chinese teacher crossed out the sentence "Studying Mao Zedong Thought is the shortcut in studying Marxism-Leninism." Some people said that he had committed a major mistake. But this comrade was not convinced. He asked if there were any documents concerning the "shortcut," but none were presented. Instead, new tricks were used against him. It was said that the "shortcut" had been put



forward by Lin Biao, who was a vice chairman of the party Central Committee, and it was an attack on the vice chairman to cross out the sentence about the "shortcut."

The second product: "Mao Zedong Thought is the highest and the final criterion of Marxism-Leninism," and "is the summit of Marxism-Leninism." The inventor of this new product was clearly no other than Kang Sheng himself. However, when discussing this "instruction" of Kang Sheng's, there were still some people who dared to doubt or openly reject it, saying that it was not correct.

We did not at all understand these new theories. Since "Mao Zedong Thought is the highest and the final criterion of Marxism-Leninism" and the "summit," did this not mean that Marxism-Leninism had become a "lower and initial criterion"? Then why was it necessary to follow the "shortcut" to study the theory of a "lower and initial criterion," and slide down from the summit? The teacher mentioned above had crossed out the "shortcut" and committed a major mistake. But what if he had not done so, could we be prevented from following the "shortcut" and sliding down to a "lower and initial" valley?

Once I asked myself a rhetorical question: "Who is Chairman Mao?" One might think it ridiculous for an old man like me to ask such a childish question. As a matter of fact, this question was raised after my experience of being struggled against for 9 months and the experience of 64 other comrades who were also struggled against, and was raised because of the actual situation in the Central Party School led by Kang Sheng. During this movement, not only was I attacked, but also other comrades who had worked with me for years were attacked. I knew them well and believed that they, too, were not against Chairman Mao, but all of us were either criticized or struggled against, and were labelled "right deviationists," "right opportunists," and "anti-Chairman Mao." The bitter experience of a comrade who was called a "right opportunist" calls for us to do some deep thinking. When his "right opportunist opinions" were being criticized, he took out a notebook and said that these opinions could not be criticized as being right opportunist, because some had been written in the documents of the Central Committee and some had even been expressed by Chairman Mao. Since they were expressed by the Central Committee and by Chairman Mao himself, they should not be regarded as being anti-Central Committee or anti-Chairman Mao. However, the decision was made at Kang Sheng's instigation to label him a "right opportunist" and discharge him from office. I cannot remember when and where I read the preface to "The History of the Ming": "Biographies of Crafty Sycophants," in which there is this sentence: "Such people, though heavenly words come out of their mouths, tyrannically abuse their power, so that the literati and officialdom on earth have to follow their direction." Just as what is said of "enlightenment" in Buddhism, I had at last found out that in the Central Party School, "Kang Sheng was Chairman Mao."

Gamblers in gambling houses can be divided into three groups, according to whether they have won, lost or broken even. But this is not applicable to political gamblers like Kang Sheng. After the meeting of the 7,000, the democratic life in the Central Party School was restored. Quite a few comrades criticized Kang Sheng by name and pointed out that what he had done in the party school was to "attack real Marxism by means of sham Marxism." Yet, in the report of the Central Party School on examining my case of being framed by him in 1959, Kang

Sheng wrote the following instruction: "This is the verdict made by Yang Xianzhen on himself for anti-Mao Zedong Thought." We criticized him for being anti-Marxism and he criticized us for being anti-Mao Zedong Thought. Perhaps it is not wrong to call the game a draw. But he would not let the game "be over," because according to Kang Sheng's standard, not to win meant to lose. Therefore, he intended to gamble for a bigger stake, which was the criticism in 1964 of 'two combining into one.'

On 31 May 1979, GUANGMING RIBAO carried an article entitled "Reevaluating the Debate on 'Two Combining Into One.'" On 21 August, another article was carried in RENMIN RIBAO under the title of "The Criticism of 'Two Combining Into One' Is an Unjust Political Case." These two articles basically exposed Kang Sheng's crimes of disrupting the Central Party School and setting up unjust prisons in the name of academic discussion. In the article "The Origin of the Criticism of 'Two Combining Into One'" by Comrade Fan Ruoyu, carried in the October issue of RED FLAG in the same year, the evil done by Kang Sheng behind the black curtain was further exposed.

To save space, what I am writing here about the criticism of "two combining into one" is only a supplement to the above three articles.

Although in 1964, the new tricks of hanging a poster on and putting a dunce cap on people had not yet been invented, humiliating a person as a measure additional to criticism had begun in the farce directed by Kang Sheng. At a school assembly of the students, teachers and staff, Chen Boda abused Comrade Sun Dingguo as a "hooligan" and "utterly shameless." Later when "struggling" against Comrade Sun Dingguo, Chen Boda's "fighting spirit" was developed and someone even spit in Comrade Sun Dingguo's face. He could not endure such humiliation and drowned himself on the night of 18 December.

What was called a "forum" at the Central Party School in 1964 was in fact a "clandestine tribunal" during the "Great Cultural Revolution." On the afternoon and evening of 24 August and the morning of 25 August, a combined "forum" was held by the Central Party School, RED FLAG and RENMIN RIBAO. Also taking part in this meeting were Li Ming, Ai Hengwu and Lin Qingshan, who were in favor of "two combining into one." In order to fabricate some false charges about the article "New Debate on the Philosophy Front" by RED FLAG reporters, Comrade Li Ming, Ai Hengwu and Lin Qingshan were for a long time badgered and induced to make confessions at these two "forums." Comrade Li Ming was one of the "chief criminals" supporting "two combining into one," and had made a rather reserved statement against the article "New Debate on the Philosophy Front" by RED FLAG reporters which had played an odious role in the criticism of "two combining into one," so he was finally expelled from the party and administratively reduced two ranks lower, and was transferred to his native countryside. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Kang Sheng again brought up this old case. While being persecuted, Comrade Li Ming had investigated the nearby wells, and after finding out which wells were for irrigation and which for drinking, he threw himself into an irrigation well and thus departed from the party and his dear ones. He was then only 50 years old. Such was this comrade who, before his death, was still bearing in mind the interests of the party and the people, and who was persecuted to death by Kang Sheng on a "fabricated charge."

I really cannot remember how many crimes I was accused of by Kang Sheng during the "Great Cultural Revolution," except for being a "renegade" and "having illicit relations with foreign countries." On 18 May 1967, I was "dragged" back to the Central Party School from the Philosophy Research Institute by the rebellion faction of the Central Party School. There I was tried in the clandestine tribunal and was forced to write debating-style confession materials in the clandestine prison cell. On 23 September, I was arrested and put in jail at the order of Kang Sheng. It was not until I began to write this article that I came to know why I was kept alive. It was because of my "having illicit relations with foreign countries," and Kang Sheng wanted to link me with Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "illicit relations with foreign countries." Here I would like to advise those comrades whose cases have been "reexamined" along with mine not to see things one-sidedly. Although we have been "reexamined," Kang Sheng has also been reexamined. He has finally been expelled from the party by the Central Committee and has not escaped the punishment of history.

Facing the court of history, I am writing this article to comfort my comrades, alive or dead, who worked with me and who were persecuted by Kang Sheng.

CSO: 4004

## RANDOM NOTES ON AESTHETIC EDUCATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 38-41

[Article by Xie Yu [6200 5148]]

[Text] People are now paying more and more attention to aesthetic education. This reflects an inevitable tendency, since the smashing of the "gang of four," to set right things which had been thrown into disorder. During the 10 years in which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, aesthetics, aesthetic education, the appreciation of beauty and all other valuable forms of culture were relentlessly condemned. Even love for beauty was regarded as a crime. A lot of ugly things, veiled by pretention and ornamentation, blocked the way. This abnormal phenomenon should not be allowed to continue. Actually, the appreciation of beauty is not a bourgeois trait; it is a noble, spiritual joy, a justified demand on the part of the socialist laborer. As Engels said: "It is a prejudice to treat the fine things of civilization--science and art, etc.--as dangerous and destroy them as aristocratic luxuries. This destruction is an inevitable result of total ignorance of history and political economy." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 580)

Beauty is extremely important in social life. It is not without reason that people relate beauty to such valuable elements as virtue and ideals. Beauty stands for what excites the heart and pleases the mind. It also stands for ideals. Whether you admit it and are aware of it or not, beauty objectively exists around you. It is tremendously attractive to people, and especially to adolescents. Without beauty and the pursuit of it, life would be too bland.

However, admitting the objective existence of beauty and its significance in life is not equal to understanding and feeling beauty. Beauty is a complicated social phenomenon, a unification of objective and subjective conflicts. People's world outlook plays an important role in their feeling for and judgment of beauty. The actions of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were poisonous to social life. They disrupted our world outlook and our understanding of beauty. Where their pernicious influences were present, ugliness was taken for beauty, absurdity for modernness, coarseness for being carefree, cynicism and dissipation for good sense and a good name.... Positive measures should be taken to carry out aesthetic education in order to set right the unhealthy phenomenon in which ugliness and beauty are reversed or confused. Aesthetic education enables people to have correct aesthetic judgments and the capacity for seeing beauty,



and inspires them to struggle for the creation of the good and the beautiful. This can be done through the appreciation and understanding of the beauty of nature, society and art.

Moral education, intellectual education, physical education, aesthetic education and technological education have been described by educational circles as the "five educations." These "five educations" are interrelated and mutually complementary. As one of these educations, aesthetic education promotes, supports and relies on the other four. On the other hand, it plays an independent role that cannot be replaced by the others. It influences people's emotions and thoughts through images of beauty, not through reasoning or analysis. Inclusion of aesthetic appreciation in intellectual education and moral education can help to make their effects more remarkable and concrete.

Aesthetic education can be mainly carried out in school curricula, such as in elementary and middle school music, art and literature lessons, in extracurricular group activities in drama, dance, photography and handicrafts, or in different aspects of life.

Nature is a big classroom for aesthetic education. The beauty of nature, just like its influence, is multifarious. Heroic beauty excites the mind, elegant beauty enlivens the heart and gentle beauty engenders contemplation. "Vast is the sky, boundless the wilds; cattle and sheep are seen as the grass rustles in the wind." The extensiveness of the grasslands as described in the above lines broadens one's mind. "Peaks rise one higher than another, as if thousands of horses were galloping around, while mountains seem to incline to the east." The magnificent view of mountains depicted in these lines is also delightful. Therefore, when possible, we should organize after-school or after-work activities for young people to visit the parks and the countryside and let them appreciate the wonders of nature. Is this not a good form of aesthetic education? Can not this form of education broaden people's horizons, enrich their imagination and foster their love for life and their motherland?

Of course, it is often impossible to separate the appreciation for nature from the appreciation for the beauty of social life. It was only after mankind had separated itself from nature that nature became a subject for appreciation. Only when labor, practice and production had transformed nature did people see parallel expressions of human emotions in nature and discover its beauty. It is also because of practice and production that certain aspects of natural beauty enter the realm of social life and become the beauty of social life. In Song dynasty poetry, there are lines such as "spirit and heart clear as ice" and "clear and upright both inside and outside." Does not the beauty of social life as described here come from natural beauty?

To a great extent, the beauty of social life lies in man's inner strength--the thinking, emotion, wisdom, talent and creativity that are reflected in concrete things. The most important point here is human creation. Beauty is seen in those who create and in what is created to be appreciated. When people feel their strength in the realm they have created, they will also feel beauty. This is what Marx described as "man's objective essential strength" that "appears" to people in a perceptual form. This is why we say that the beauty of social life

is richer and more influential than natural beauty. The problem is: people's feeling for the beauty of social life is not as acute as their feeling for natural beauty. Therefore, aesthetic education must open the "soul's window" and heighten people's aesthetic judgment so that they will realize the beauty of the social life in front of them.

Marx said that "labor creates beauty." Because labor is the source of the beauty of social life, where there is a sign of a human creative force that has overcome nature and transformed society, there is beauty. By the same token, we judge as beautiful the image of the builders of socialism who are agile and hard-working and we judge as ugly the image of parasites who are lazy and lifeless.

Labor and wisdom are inseparable. The creations of labor are beautiful and so is the wisdom formed in the process of labor. Wisdom is a key that opens the door to the unknown world and a candle that lights up life. A person who discovers truth and discerns the poetic things in the common world inspires others to passionately pursue truth amid adversity, and to discover a new realm in the unknown world shines forth and attracts admiration from everyone. Aesthetic education should help people to realize that the pursuits of science and knowledge and the fruits of invention and creation are also beautiful.

Through practice mankind transforms the objective world while enriching and developing itself. Labor creates beauty. Therefore, as mankind labors, practices and pushes history forward, the emotions formed from the joys and sorrows, partings and reunions of life, and the understanding of turmoils and the awareness and will to struggle--as long as they can arouse people's passion to create and to pursue progress--are all beautiful. Examples are the deep commitment to one's motherland and career, faith in love and friendship and the sense of responsibility toward comrades and comrades-in-arms. At this level, values are noble in both the moral and aesthetic senses. What people call "inner beauty" refers to noble moral values, whereas "beauty of style" usually refers to the natural expression of inner beauty. There is the phrase "wise in heart and elegant in appearance." A person who has a beautiful heart also has a beautiful appearance, whether his style is passionate, free, tender, decisive, quiet, witty or simple.

Of course, "beauty of style" is not innate. It is conditioned by historical factors, experience in life, cultural level, aptitudes and temperament. As the people's cultural level rises and their spiritual life grows richer, they will become more civilized and beautiful in style and manners. What people call "beauty of appearance" does not refer so much to a person's physical appearance as to his temperament, which is a reflection of his cultural level and personality. Therefore, only when "beauty of appearance" is in harmony with inner beauty can it bring beauty to social life.

The creative force must relate to mankind's progress. If not, this force can be neither creative nor beautiful. What is against historical progress and harmful to people's well-being is neither creative nor beautiful. It destroys beauty.

How can we open our way to understanding the beauty of social life and the "soul's window"?

The beauty of social life is seen everywhere in life and in the great, vigorous practice of transforming the world. Therefore, to gradually open the way for people to realize the beauty of social life, we must actively lead and organize people, especially young people, to take part in activities that are beneficial to the masses, so that they will experience the joys of creation, wisdom, noble values and the meaning of fighting against injustice, and the joy of contributing to the masses. However, people can only live in a certain age and in a certain environment. Their direct understanding of the beauty of reality is usually limited. Therefore, apart from natural beauty and the beauty of social life, artistic beauty is also an important part of aesthetic education.

A writer or artist reflects artistic beauty from the beauty of reality through absorption and digestion of what he sees in life. This beauty, expressed with images, color, lines, rhythm and melody, is more refined, delicate and perfect than reality. It is more appealing. In artistic beauty, the vicissitudes are combined and compressed, the complications are refined and purified, the obscurities are discovered and the one-dimensional simplicities are enriched through history so that they become three-dimensional. In short, artistic beauty is more archetypal and appealing. In order to effectively carry out aesthetic education, we must guide the student to widely appreciate artistic beauty.

If we appreciate art, we can have aesthetic joy, feel the sentiment of the artist or writer and learn from his ability to appreciate, express and create art. Marx said that even the most beautiful music would be insignificant to an insensitive ear. This explains the importance of aesthetic judgment. But Marx continued that only by frequently listening to beautiful music can we train an ear that can judge the musical temperament. This explains why artistic beauty can train our aesthetic judgment. This also emphasizes that we must learn from the great works of great writers and artists. In fact, aesthetic judgment is closely related to artistic beauty. In ancient history, before art and literature came into being, men were superficial in aesthetic judgment. With the appearance of artistic beauty, man accumulated and developed his aesthetic judgments more effectively. The more contact with artistic beauty, the stronger the aesthetic judgment. If a person well-versed in literature and another person totally ignorant of literature view things together and live together in a new environment, the beauty they see in real life and the creativity they derive from it will be completely different. Therefore, we should organize group visits to cultural exhibitions and cultural performances, lead the people to read and appreciate famous Chinese and foreign literary works (including beautiful characters, stories, paintings of scenery and customs, poetry, proverbs, sayings, melodies and colors). This will broaden the people's views with the best of culture and enable them to distinguish beauty from ugliness, civilization from crudity and nobility from lowliness.

Aesthetic judgment determines to a certain extent one's cultural level and awareness and determines whether one can create and defend beauty and carry out an heroic struggle against ugliness. Aesthetic judgment in a race also decides the spirit of the race and whether the race is open and civilized. Our nation is carrying out a modernization program. While building a high level of material civilization, we are also building a high level of spiritual civilization and training new all-round socialists. In this magnificent undertaking, aesthetic education plays a significant role. We can say that aesthetic education is

necessary for the modernization program and the training of the new generation. It is absolutely indispensable. Therefore, we must place aesthetic education in a correct position, seriously combine society, school, family and aesthetic education and create a lively situation in which aesthetic education is of great importance.

CSO: 4004



## THE ARTISTIC FEATURES OF 'NIGHT RAIN IN THE BASHAN MOUNTAINS'

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[Film review by Gao Gejin [7559 2960 0093]]

[Text] The Tang poet Li Shangyin wrote a famous poem interwoven with hope and despair: "You ask me the date of my return, but I do not know the date yet. The autumn pond is full of the night rain in the Bashan Mountains. How we snuffed out the candle together by the western window, while still talking about the night rain in the Bashan Mountains." The color feature film "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" written by Ye Nan and directed by Wu Yonggang and Wu Yigong ingeniously used a famous line from this poem as the title of the film. This is very appropriate and has a profound meaning. I think that this film is original and has a deep, implied meaning. It is profound and expresses one's feelings. It is like chewing olives: the fragrance lingers and makes people recollect the pleasant flavor. This feeling is definitely not found in films in which the main theme is expressed directly and can be seen at a single glance. Its ideological strength and artistic features merit consideration.

### I

"Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" has a novel and original artistic plan. It has a unique structure, and the main theme cannot be simply explained in a few words. There are many movies with stories structured around the occupations of the characters. These movies describe factories, the countryside, science and technology, culture and education, and service trades. Some condense the contradictions and conflicts within the family and among relatives and friends. This is the usual structure and there is no lack of good works of this kind. "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" opens a narrow path by itself. It assembles a group of people of different ages, sex, occupations and personalities who are unacquainted with one another on a boat which is sailing on a river in a storm. It exposes the contradictions and conflicts and establishes the relationship of mutual concern among them. "We are all stranded in a foreign land. What does it matter if we have not met one another before?" What merits attention is that there is not a single bad element on the boat. There are only different people with different awarenesses and personalities from the fields of industry, agriculture, culture and education. Does this distort the realities of life or promote the "theory of no conflict" and the "theory of the extinction of class struggle"? I think that we cannot look at it this way. It is true that dregs surfaced and all kinds of bad elements came out into the open to put on a show

during the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution." We do not object to the emphatic description of negative characters who differ from one another in a thousand and one ways. However, we cannot simplistically imagine that the emergence of the "unprecedented" tragedy that was the "10-year catastrophe" was only caused by the conspiracy of several bad elements in every unit, as reflected in certain superficial and stereotyped films. In actual life, not every unit has one, several or even a certain proportion of bad elements. Some units which had no bad elements also suffered great hardships in the "Great Cultural Revolution" because they were artificially split into incompatible factions. They beat the air and mistook their comrades for enemies and fought against one another. It can thus be seen that the "10-year catastrophe" was definitely not created by only a small number of bad elements, but that there were far-reaching and complicated social and historical reasons for it. The ultraleftist line, modern superstition, feudal remnants and so on are all important causes which cannot be ignored. We cannot say that "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" is not without contradictions and conflicts. It is permeated with the contradictions and conflicts between Quishi and Liu Wenyong, which can also be described as the contradictions and conflicts between the prisoners of the "gang of four" and the "spiritual prisoners." What is more prominent is the stifling social environment and the mood of the time revealed in the film. A fine socialist China is trampled underfoot. It has wounds all over its body and is on the verge of destruction. Just as Daniang exclaims after she learns of the tragic vicissitudes of Xinghua: "Look! The old society has come back again." Are there no implacable conflicts and contradictions between the masses of grief-stricken people and the "gang of four" and their clique who promoted feudal fascist dictatorship? It should be said that "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" realistically and movingly exposes a cross-section of the society at that time. Through the description of the ideology, personality, moral sentiments and contradictions and conflicts of a group of passengers in Room No 13 in the third-class cabin of the boat, it reflects the spiritual strength and fine minds of the masses of people advancing in unity under dark political suppression and shows that the strength of the daily awakening people cannot be conquered by any reactionary force.

The small cabin is precisely a profile and a microcosm of the actual Chinese society at that time. It enables the audience to feel strongly the turbulence of the time and the environment. Look, with the coming and going of movements in the past few years in Sichuan, which is called the "land of plenty," nobody gets production. Xinghua, a young woman in the countryside, works laboriously all day long and can at most earn only 9 fen a day. This is not even sufficient to support herself. She is forced to leave her true love and marry someone in a remote place. She has to sell herself as a servant to repay the heavy debts owed by her father. The old entertainer Guan Shengxuan is like a bird frightened by the bow and constantly guards himself against criticism and struggle and against entering the "cowshed." He can set his heart at ease only after the reassurance that there will be no seizure of power before the boat reaches Wuhan. The young worker Song Minsheng cannot carry out production in a factory and the woman teacher is not allowed to teach in a school. The revolutionary poet Qiushi has become a "dangerous criminal" sent under the special guard of the literary revolutionary committee of the party Central Committee. The only son of the old woman in Hebei did not die on the battlefield against Japan and against Chiang Kai-shek but is buried by the gunfire of "overthrowing everything

and waging civil war everywhere."... Does all this not place people in the turbulent times? The near hysterical language and actions, which are typical of Guan Shengxuan in particular, often provoke knowing smiles from the audience. For example, after he has noticed the handcuffs in Liu Wenying's knapsack, he is wide-eyed and tongue-tied. He rushes to find the leader of the boat and requests a change of room. On his return to the cabin, he is still shaking his head and muttering, "No, no, at least there will be no seizure of power before our arrival in Wuhan. The revolutionary committee said this." Guan is also alarmed when Liu Wenying rebukes the woman teacher for reciting several fine lines in Qiushi's poem. He says, "Again, ...again the struggle has been unfurled!" In the middle of the night, when he hears the cry "Someone on the boat has jumped into the water!" his immediate reaction is to hurriedly bury his head in a blanket out of the subconscious fear that his peace will be disturbed. Was this constant fear not a typical social disease in an era without any guarantee whatsoever for personal safety?!

What is commendable is that, despite the different experiences, ideas and dispositions and different degrees of awareness of people on this boat, they can, in their unique ways, show sympathy and concern for and help people who have encountered misfortune and suffered pain and oppression. This is not only manifested in the two major events--the rescue of Xinghua by Qiushi and the righteous release of Qiushi by the "escort"--but also in trivial details, such as when Song Minsheng gives wild chrysanthemums to people in the cabin and old Wang, the policeman, and the fat chef chase one another to deliver food to Little Juanzi, who hides here and there. The structure and moral embodied in the plan of "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" are precisely an attempt to allegorically reveal the unpopularity of the "gang of four," who incur the wrath of heaven and opposition of men through the daily awakening and mutual concern of the ordinary masses of hard-pressed people! It also reveals the kind-heartedness and righteousness, resilience and boldness of the Chinese people! Support for, or opposition to, popular sentiments precisely foretells the imminent arrival of a great historical reform!

## II

The success of "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" does not lie in a heart-stirring and intriguing plot but in the emphatic portrayal of a group of ordinary true-to-life characters with clearcut individuality. It realistically and movingly reveals their fine souls, clearcut love and hatred and noble sentiments.

Many characters appear in the movie but they have different personalities and outlooks; many characters make a fairly deep impression on the audience. This is not easy. The director has not given a minute and complicated account of the relationships between the characters and their backgrounds and subsequent development, but he skillfully selects their typical actions and individualistic language so that people have distinctly different reactions toward the same incident, thus revealing the differences in personality, experience and upbringing of the characters. For example, there is a very meaningful scene of contradictions and personality clashes on whether to switch on or turn off the amplifier to listen to the model play. The young worker Song Minsheng, who cries aloud "Hi, revolutionary masses and comrades" on entering the cabin is bold enough to

turn off the amplifier which is playing a model play. He also says to Liu Wenying disrespectfully: "What! Keep quiet for a while!" People can see right away from this typical action and language that this is an alert and daring young fellow. Although he comes from the five Red types, he joined the rebellion but realized long ago that he was being deceived. He dislikes the dark rebellion and the ultraleft bombastic words. He can ingeniously struggle against the stuff promoted by the "gang of four" by taking everything lightly and using ridicule and making sarcastic remarks. When the displeased Liu Wenying again switches on the amplifier, Song Minsheng again turns it off. He smilingly approaches the Beijing opera actor Guan Shengxuan, who is reading a book on the upper bunk and says, "You need some peace. Look at this old comrade...." The timid Guan Shengxuan hurriedly declares, "No, no! I am willing to listen, very, very willing to receive education...." He is so frightened that he drops the book. These insincere replies easily remind people that this is the so-called "social foundation in the black line on literature and art" who has been scared out of his wits by constant criticism and struggles. When Song Minsheng recognizes that Guan is a famous comedian in Beijing opera, Guan recites his confessions as if he faced criticism in a government office. Song Minsheng consoles him and says, "We are on the boat and not in your unit!" The infuriated Liu Wenying, who finds it hard to tolerate Song Minsheng's challenge, now grasps the opportunity to retort ruthlessly, "This boat is not really empty!" A very provocative sentence and a typical act of turning on the amplifier to listen to the model play has initially and vividly portrayed the image of the "young militant" who considers that only she is "left" and "revolutionary." (Bielinsiji) has said aptly, "The artistic portrayal of characters lies in this: if the poet describes to you a specific moment in the character's life, you can describe his entire life before and after this moment." The directors of "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" knows these subtleties very well.

The revolutionary poet Qiushi is the principal character that the film eulogizes with deep feelings. Constrained by his situation as a prisoner escorted by two guards, he cannot use more words to express his ideas and feelings. Li Zhiyu, who plays the role of Qiushi, portrays this character very well. A scar caused by a knife wound on the left of his forehead and two discerning, ever observant and searching bloodshot eyes bring into relief his appearance. He constantly bears firmly in mind the revolutionary responsibilities of showing concern for the sufferings of people and waking up youths who have gone astray. The film writer has vividly endowed this character with striking traits. On boarding the boat, he closely observes Xinhua's sorrowful expression and worried and sad look. He takes care of her enthusiastically and comforts her with warm words, and later rescues her from attempted suicide. His fiery belief rekindles Xinhua's desire to live and her courage to struggle. A person "who might be sentenced to death" shows far more concern for the life of other people than for his own life. This shows very noble mental qualities and moral sentiments! He shatters the silence on the gunwale in the middle of the night with a great sense of responsibility for waking up youths who have gone astray. He, as a prisoner, seriously and thoughtfully enlightens the "spiritual prisoner" Liu Wenying. His words, which are simple but meaningful and philosophical, strike the heart of Liu Wenying like a heavy hammer striking a drum. The action of jumping into the water to rescue people and the philosophical and lyrical talk strongly molds a clearcut image of the revolutionary poet Qiushi.



The movie also made another prominent achievement in the portrayal of characters. It faithfully and credibly portrays Liu Wenying as a typical character transformation with clearcut layers. It is not easy to properly reveal character transformation in a movie. It is necessary to rationally account for the reasons prompting the transformation of the character in the short film. It is definitely not possible to solve the problem by several commonplace sermons to enlighten thinking. It is more appropriate to consider Liu Wenying rather than Qiushi as the hero in "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" because many of Qiushi's moving words and deeds are aimed at prompting the gradual transformation of Liu Wenying.

We clearly see that there are three clearcut and gradually deepening stages in the transformation of Liu Wenying. On the gunwale in the middle of the night when Qiushi seriously points out to Liu Wenying "You are the real prisoner.... You are a spiritual prisoner!" Liu Wenying furiously replies to the "prisoner" under her guard, "You, you talk nonsense!..." Under the searching stare of Qiushi, Liu Wenying guiltily averts her face. Qiushi's words resound again, "Don't you feel...how lonely you are in the crowd! You cannot get along with anybody. Your actions make everybody suspicious of you.... You don't see the actual world around you...." This is precisely the bewilderment and pain which Liu Wenying feels in the cabin and cannot but make her think. The director of the movie had a purpose in arranging this talk on a dark, silent night. He requires Qiushi, who is in the dark world under the rule of the "gang of four," where there is "actually no culture, no science and even no material production," to point out to Liu Wenying that mankind needs all the beautiful things such as color, sunshine, forests, flowers...to rescue a feeble soul that will soon perish and to revive the alienated human nature of Liu Wenying. In this part of the movie, seven or eight close-up shots of Liu Wenying appear in succession: "an indignant face," "a surprised face," "a face in deep meditation," "a puzzled face in pain and meditation," "the face of a person who tosses about on the upper bunk."... The audience can clearly see the turbulence in Liu Wenying's heart. This can be considered the first stage in the transformation of Liu Wenying.

The second stage takes place after Qiushi has rescued Xinhua. Qiushi is talking intimately with Xinhua in the treatment room and their conversation is overheard by Liu Wenying outside the room. She turns around and slowly walks toward the gunwale and stares at the river surging with waves. The difficult years braved by Qiushi and his wife Liugu, as narrated by Qiushi, recollects the past but inserts it into the subjective thinking of Liu Wenying later in her ideological contradictions and struggles. This not only avoids repetitious shots of recollections but also effectively prompts the ideological changes in Liu Wenying and basically transforms her views toward Qiushi, the "active counterrevolutionary" whose home is in ruins and whose wife is dead and who disregards his own safety to save other people.

The third stage takes place when Liu Wenying hears Little Juanzi talk about the death of her mother. With tears rolling down her face, she quickly steps into the room and squats before Little Juanzi. She says with a trembling voice, "Little Juanzi...." How she wants to tell her with one breath that Qiushi is her father. But she could never dream how Little Juanzi, who, with hostility in her eyes, hides behind old policeman Wang, would react. Even Little Juanzi

ignores Liu Wenying and does not trust her. This is like a sharp sword that pierces her heart, and eventually destroys the ideological dike built at the high tide of the Cultural Revolution, and her face shows excessive pain. She is determined to righteously release Qiushi. When, greatly relieved, she holds up the handcuffs and requests Li Yan, another "guard," to handcuff her for releasing the dangerous criminal, Li Yan throws the handcuffs into the river. This unexpected action shocks Liu Wenying. "You!?" When she suddenly realizes what all this is about, she cannot help breaking into tears. At first she had considered herself the victor in challenging the "bad element," Li Yan, and never dreamed of this unexpected turn of events with Li Yan walking ahead of her. At first she had thought that there was at least Li Yan, a guard just like her, on the boat. When she realizes that Li Yan is not on her side, she is overwhelmed by a hundred emotions, loneliness, shame, the joy of returning to the people's arms.... These complicated feelings are very naturally interwoven into "breaking down in tears." What a realistic, credible and subtle arrangement! A newcomer in movie circles, Zhang Yu, plays the role of Liu Wenying and brings the character to life. There are great changes in her thoughts and feelings, ranging from arrogance, self-confidence, stubbornness, confusion, bewilderment, loneliness, doubt and vacillation to shock, awakening, sublimation and transformation. The audience can, through the subtle changes in the expression of Zhang Yu's eyes, detect the complicated changes in the thoughts and feelings of Liu Wenying, the familiar, typical young militant of the Red Guards.

### III

The shots in "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" are smooth but closely linked. The color is soft and graceful. The scenes closely follow the feelings. There are deep feelings and profound meanings. It is like an intriguing, simple but graceful Chinese ink painting and also an impenetrable lyrical poem with implied feelings, which makes people linger in admiration of it and stimulates continuous thoughts. The shot of Qiushi leaning against the railing and looking at the fairy peak in the distance is very beautiful: it is shapeless and elusive with a group of green peaks. The fairy peak stands high and looks down on the world. This scene arouses Qiushi's emotion. He very naturally recalls the scene in which he was fascinated by the fairy dance of his wife Liugu in the theater in bygone years. Now, "the fairy should be all right," but the beloved one who played the role of the fairy died grievously. Will this scene not make people shed sorrowful tears at the destruction of beauty in mankind?! I only want to emphatically cite one example below to analyze the artistic characteristics in handling the shots in this movie.

Deep in the night, the moon is hidden by dark clouds and it is drizzling. Daniang slowly walks up the deck. She is carrying a basket of big red dates in her hands and she quietly leans against the railing. Her eyes, red with tears, are fixed on the surface of the water. The turbulent water is roaring and flowing swiftly. Qiushi approaches her quietly. Daniang turns around and says to Qiushi, "We are near. It is in front of us...." Her son died in vain in the torrents when he tried to persuade two factions to stop fighting in the Cultural Revolution. Qiushi silently looks at Daniang and Daniang silently looks at the surface of the water. The river is flowing swiftly. Liu Wenying comes up behind them silently. Daniang says mournfully, "He did not die in the war against Japan

or against old Chiang [Kai-shek].... But in this time he died...." Daniang attempts with great difficulty to lift the willow basket. Qiushi helps her to lift it and put it on the railing. Daniang touches the red dates in the basket and says in a trembling voice: "The child loved to eat the big dates from his native place ever since he was young.... In the past, I brought him dates whenever I returned to Sichuan. I also brought them with me this time." Daniang holds the dates with both hands and tries to hold back her tears. "...This is something from mother!..." Saying this, she opens her hands and throws the red dates into the river one by one. The scene shifts downward. The red dates fall into the water and drift away in the river. Daniang throws another handful of red dates into the river. Qiushi also picks up a handful and throws them in the river. Daniang and Qiushi lift the basket and pour the red dates into the river. Following the three interlocked close-ups of Daniang's sorrowful face, Qiushi's agitated look and Liu Wenyong's amazed look, there are more shots of the red dates being swept into the whirlpool of the river. These shots are so moving, heartbreaking and thought-provoking! They symbolize that in the "Great Cultural Revolution," the blood of many innocent people was shed and swept into the big whirlpool of "overthrowing everything and engaging in all-out civil war." Many wronged souls were swept away by the current, and we can only see the big river which flows day and night. Is not this novel arrangement of impenetrable and expressive shots with implied meaning an artistic summing up of the historical lesson of the great damage done by the "Great Cultural Revolution"?!

Before this group of shots, Qiushi talks to Liu Wenyong on the gunwale in the night and points out that Liu's danger lies in closing her eyes and not seeing reality. She is deceived by swindlers and is a "spiritual prisoner." Closely following this, after Daniang and Qiushi have scattered the red dates and offered sacrifices to the river, there is a shot showing a deeply moved Liu Wenyong. Her belief is beginning to be shaken. She falls into deep meditation and cannot feel the drizzle falling on her face. This series of remarkable shots is grouped together. It is smooth and closely connected and is full of profound meaning. It metaphorically shows that although China was in darkness at that time, the broad masses of people were rapidly awakening. This scene conveys the significant mood revealed in Mr Lu Xun's lines, "Ten thousand families live in the jungle and boldly chant a song which moves the earth in sorrow. The worries in my mind are so numerous that they are linked with the vast universe. Breaking the silence the frightening thunder is heard."

Certainly, "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" has its shortcomings. At the end of the movie, Qiushi carries his daughter on his back and they escape to a scenic, secluded paradise. Without a worry in the world, they play with dandelions. With perfect peace of mind, they leave the danger to the "escort" on the boat. This is not realistic or credible and is not logical in light of the personality of Qiushi, the revolutionary who disregarded his own safety long ago to save other people. This damages the noble image of this character. The treatment of the encounter between Qiushi and his daughter is also too careless. Little Juanzi has never before seen her father Qiushi. According to normal human reactions, in their first encounter, there is bound to be a process of hesitation, doubt, identification, judgment, assurance and cultivation of feelings. She would not immediately dash into her father's arms. Although this process can be shortened on the screen, it cannot be eliminated. Besides, too many scenes in the movie are on the boat. The movie has not made full use of the rich means of expression peculiar to a movie to properly extend the scenes to the vast world outside the boat. This restricts the cinematography in "Night Rain in the Bashan Mountains" and reduces the screenplay to a certain extent.

## WHAT THE AFGHAN WAR TELLS US

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 81 pp 47-48

[Article by Yi Li [5030 4539]]

[Text] More than 1 year has passed since the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. This invasion has attracted worldwide attention. The Soviet Union continues to pour more troops into Afghanistan, to increase new forces "specially trained for counter guerrilla warfare," to send more new weapons and equipment and to adopt more effective military tactics in suppressing and encircling the Afghan resistance forces. However, the resistance forces are growing stronger. They attack the aggressors wherever possible, control some large Afghan cities and villages and even harass Kabul, the Afghan capital, which the Soviet troops occupy.

On one side is the superpower's regular army which possesses superior military strength and firepower. It is equipped with airplanes, tanks, cannons and many other weapons as well as modern transport facilities. It has fast and sophisticated communication equipment. Both its officers and soldiers have been well trained. On the other side is the guerrilla forces, made up of the ordinary people of this landlocked country and some former government troops. It possesses only a small quantity of infantry weapons. It basically travels on foot. These troops lack a unified command and most of them are untrained soldiers. They have not been well prepared to fight a war. Despite the great differences in the military strengths of the two sides, they have come out even after 1 year of fighting. The guerrilla forces are still resisting while the invaders still cannot end the fighting. Moreover, the war will not end in the near future.

Why has this situation occurred? This question has never been and can never be answered by Brezhnev, the head of the Soviet Union, or his military generals or his mouthpieces. They have repeatedly claimed that Soviet troops were "invited" there by the Afghan Government to "eliminate external interference" and to "safeguard Afghanistan's sovereignty." Had this been true, the Afghan people should have "welcomed" this "army of benevolence and justice" with "food and drink." They should also have joined the Soviet troops in driving out the "armed external invaders." Why then are they fighting so boldly against the Soviet troops and are so unwilling to stop? Is this not one of the strangest occurrences in the world?



However, the common Soviet people realized long ago that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a "horrible blunder." The Soviet soldiers who have been deceived and forced to go to Afghanistan can clearly see that no external forces, except the Soviet troops, are conducting armed intervention in Afghanistan. The "enemy" that the Soviet troops are trying to "drive out" include former Afghan Government troops, guerrilla forces formed by the common people and even the defenseless old and weak, women and children. The Afghan people long for a peaceful life. They have never encroached upon the interests of the Soviet people. Nor has there ever been any such possibility. The longer the war lasts, the better the Soviet soldiers will come to understand that they are nothing but tools being used by the Soviet leading clique in aggression and expansion, that they are fighting in a criminal war of aggression and expansion, and that it is not worthwhile to sacrifice themselves in such a war.

The Afghan people bitterly hate the invaders. They have demonstrated an amazingly indomitable spirit and great tenacity in this war. Although these invaders have been good at playing tricks and taking on disguises, the facts can best educate people. The Afghan soldiers are fully aware that they are fighting for the independence and freedom of their motherland, the survival and dignity of their nation, their beloved homeland and dear relatives and everything they treasure. It is precisely because they are conscious of the justice in fighting this war that they can face such a powerful enemy without the slightest fear and that they can create miracles under extremely difficult circumstances.

The Afghan people are able to continue the fight against the Soviet aggressors because they have adopted correct military tactics. They have been able to overcome the enemy's superiority--concentrated forces, strong firepower and good mobility--and have given full play to the power of people's war. Their troops are scattered and hidden. They have seized opportunities to make sudden attacks upon the enemy, to intercept enemy convoys, to skillfully seize strongholds, to burn warehouses and to attack the airport. In this way the enemy has been put into a passive position and has been tired out by too much moving around. When summing up the experience and lessons of the Italian war of national independence, Engels said: "A war of national independence should not use ordinary military tactics. It should adopt methods such as the masses' uprisings, revolutionary wars and organizing guerrilla forces. These are the only ways for small nations to defeat large ones and for a weaker army to fight against a stronger and better-organized one." Comparing the Persian and Chinese wars of resistance against the British aggressors, Engels pointed out that the Persian Army was overcome quickly because it adopted European tactics whereas the Chinese struck relentless blows at the British by means of people's uprisings. "What can the aggressor army do when the people adopt such military tactics? Where should the aggressor army land when it invades such a country? Where should it stop and how can it hold its ground?" Has the Soviet aggressor army not been facing such difficulties? Has it not been unable to overcome them? Has it not been bogged down in a predicament?

Fighting for the purpose of safeguarding the independence of the motherland and the survival of the nation and adopting the correct military tactics are the fundamental reasons why the Afghan people can and are still fighting the war.

Fighting a war which they abhor and being unwilling to die for the aggressive and expansionist policies pursued by the Soviet leading clique--these are the most important reasons why the Soviet troops cannot win a victory.

The Afghan war is not an isolated local incident. It is a major incident which has a great bearing on the world situation. This is the first time in recent years that the victims, the people of a small country, have dealt head-on blows to the ferocious Soviet expansionists. These blows have disrupted Soviet global strategic deployment. The Afghan people have forcefully exposed and denounced the imperialists' criminal act of aggression by fighting in the war to safeguard their own motherland. So long as the Soviet aggressor troops refuse to withdraw, this kind of exposure and denunciation will continue and the Soviet invaders will continue to be condemned and punished by all people who uphold justice and love peace. The recent resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities in the UN General Assembly have once again demanded an immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. This reflects the wishes of all people in the world. The struggle of the Afghan people tells all people in the world the following truth: Despite their military strength, the Soviet socialist imperialists are not irresistible. When a small nation is invaded, its people can mobilize all patriotic forces and adopt military tactics which conform to the specific conditions of their own nation to deal with even such a military superpower as the Soviet Union. This is an encouragement to all countries which are being occupied, controlled, suppressed and threatened by the Soviet Union. It will certainly help them build up their confidence in resisting Soviet aggression. We firmly believe that when all people are closely united to deal with the Soviet hegemonists, they will safeguard world peace and the security of all countries.

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## A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON 'BREADTH OF MIND'

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[Text] The famous 19th century French author, Victor Hugo, said that the largest things in the world are the oceans, but larger than the oceans are the heavens, and larger still than the heavens is the mind. "The world of the mind is vast and one can be tolerant of all things." It is such a great mind that we communists should have. This is of major significance for closeness between one echelon and another and relations among comrades, for the development of a good situation of stability and unity, and for working with one heart and one mind for the four modernizations.

Among our revolutionary ranks, however, the hearts and minds of some are very small, so much so that they cannot tolerate a single sentence not to their liking. When some people are criticized by others, if there is the slightest discrepancy in the facts or if the analysis is not quite right, they explode in anger and their fury is difficult to dispel. After the matter is finished, they continue to brood. When some comrades are criticized, they moan and groan and are unable to bestir themselves. When they hear a leader or someone else say something, they suspect the words are aimed at them, and they may even feel miserable in the extreme or be grieved to tears. And so it goes.

To live is to travel a rugged and rough road. In our endeavors for the revolution and for construction, there are times when we get along well with people and everything is fine, but there are also times when we must go through this or that setback or suffer this or that grievance, and it is difficult for a person to avoid such matters in the course of life. We must look at them in terms of the welfare of the party and the people and handle them correctly.

Countless veterans of the revolution were honest and broadminded and devoted all their thoughts and energies to revolutionary endeavors to do immortal deeds, setting examples for us to study. In the course of the long march of the Red Army, old commander Zhu was magnanimous in his concern, united the broad masses of cadres in every quarter of the Red Army and victoriously smashed the antiparty factionalist plots of Zhang Guotao. Comrade Mao Zedong praised his will of iron and his broadmindedness, which was as vast as the seas. Premier Zhou always persevered in safeguarding Marxist truth, universally united comrades inside and outside the party and shed his heart's blood working for the party with a breadth of mind that was truly larger than the heavens and a nobility of spirit that covered the world. Nowadays, some old cadres in our party who look at the

importance of the overall situation have taken the initiative in releasing their leadership positions to middle-aged and young cadres to allow them to use their intelligence and abilities and to struggle for the magnificent enterprise of constructing the four modernizations. Can those who place "I" first and worry about personal gains and losses think so deeply and plan so carefully or possess such openmindedness or magnanimity?

"The selfless of heart possess a broadness of scope." Only those who are utterly unselfish and uninterested in personal benefit can enjoy to the full the immense and boundless world. For the sake of the party and the people, many revolutionary martyrs did not even cherish their lives, so is it possible that we cannot accept a small amount of grievance and misunderstanding? In the world, "there is nothing entirely devoid of misunderstanding." Even if one suffered temporary wrong or misunderstanding for one reason or another, one should be able to stand the test and firmly believe that this wrong or misunderstanding will be clarified sooner or later. Naturally we are not advocating unprincipled blind acceptance of wrongdoing or injustice, but rather we are advocating that when solving these problems, one must consider what benefits unity and what benefits revolutionary endeavors.

Countless facts attest that generally those who are most deeply suspicious are the ones who are also narrowminded. Looking at issues subjectively and one-sidedly is the ideological root cause of suspicions, and mutual distrust plants the seeds of suspicion. We are dialectic materialists who must maintain an objective attitude in learning about or judging anything, avoiding being subjective and one-sided. Those people who are swayed by their emotions and harbor suspicions about the intentions of others are not without evil deeds themselves.

Everyone knows the story from the history of our country about "the general and his minister," Lin Xiangru and Lian Po. If even civil officials and military officers in the feudal society could give thought to the overall situation for the sake of the endeavors of their own class without allowing themselves to be swayed by personal feelings or counting their gains and losses, is it possible that the breadth of mind of us communists who have already taken up the task of liberating all mankind is not the equal of these personages from feudal society? Today we are shouldering the great enterprise of realizing the four modernizations for which the burden is heavy and the road long. We must look ahead in unity, forsake all individual grievances, and struggle with one heart and one mind to build a modernized, highly democratic, highly cultured socialist power.

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